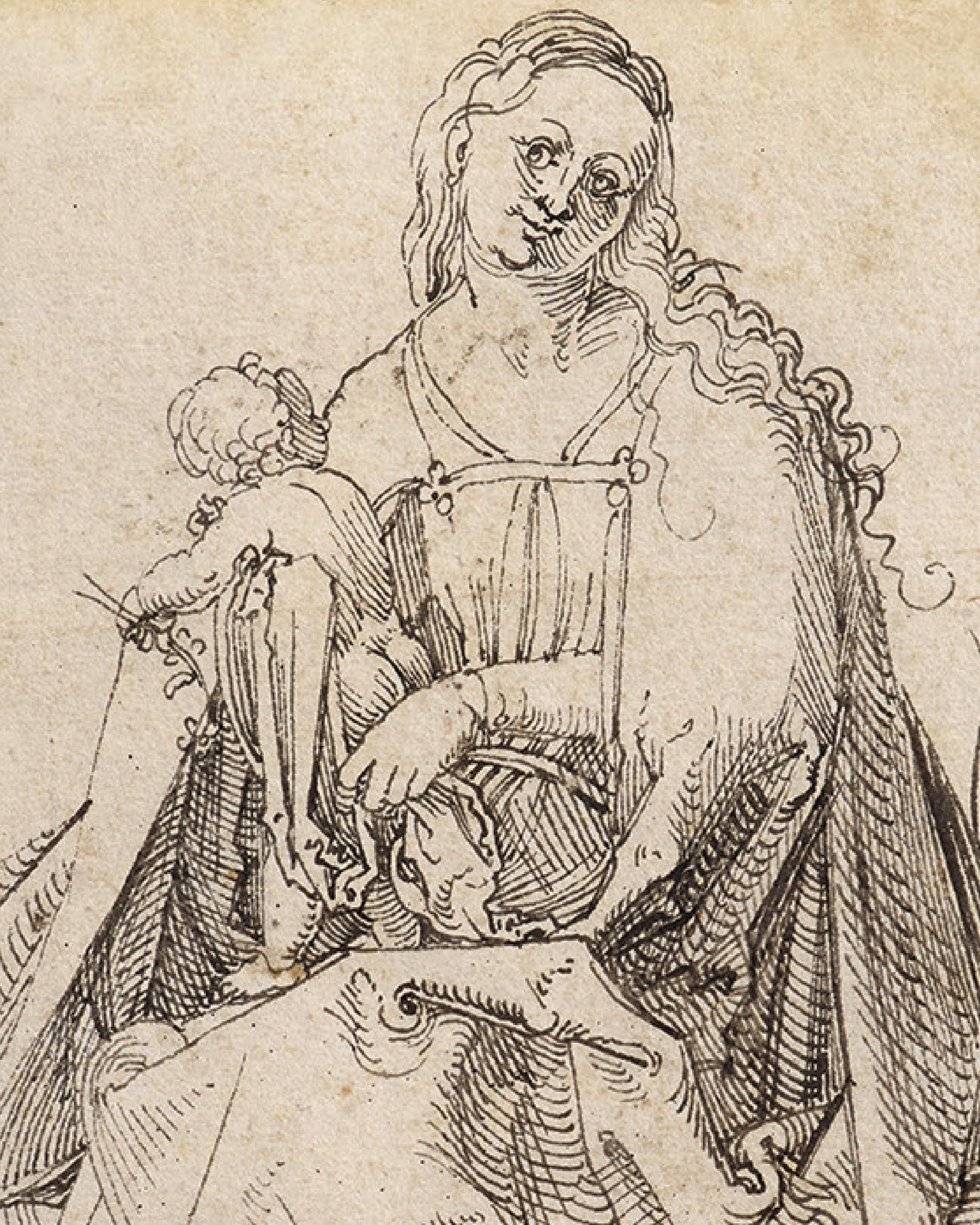
Dürer

Unseen

Dürer Unseen



Dürer Unseen

AGNEWS

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Preface

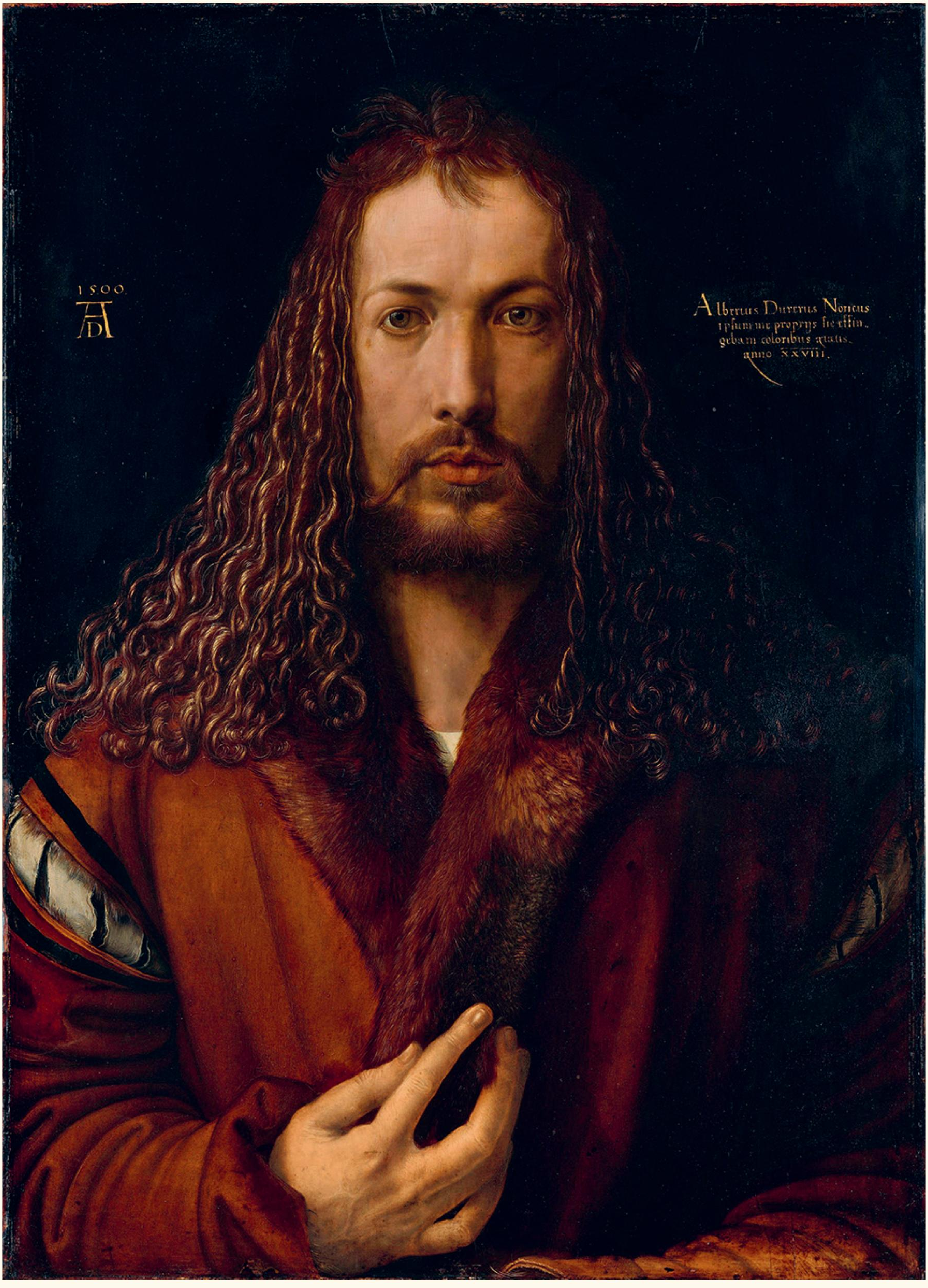
Established in 1817, Thomas Agnew & Sons has acted as principal agents and advisors to many of the most important collectors and institutions of their time. Since its acquisition by new owners in 2013, Agnews continues to be one of London's leading art dealerships, operating from our townhouse gallery in St. James's Place, successfully building upon the legacy of acquiring and presenting great works of art, whilst simultaneously introducing a new and younger audience to the pleasures of collecting Old and Modern masters.

Agnews established an early reputation for handling works by Northern Renaissance artists, including Albrecht Dürer's *Self-portrait with a thistle* (Louvre, Paris) and paintings by Lucas Cranach the Elder. The firm has also been instrumental in placing in American museums important German drawings by Dürer's contemporaries, including works by three of his most talented pupils, Hans Baldung, Hans Schäufelein, and Georg Pencz.

Dürer was the preeminent artist of the Northern Renaissance, and in any assessment of his art, the role played by his drawing cannot be overestimated. It was his most fundamental, constant, and important form of expression, the graphic barometer of his life and artistic development. Dürer's drawing played a major role in revolutionising drawing as an autonomous art form, and the graphic discoveries he made with his drawn line are the foundation of our modern three-dimensional representation of the world. While a rich and vast corpus of Dürer's printed graphic work survives, in comparison his drawings are exceedingly rare, and only a handful remain in private ownership. The last undisputed Dürer drawing on the open market, a watercolour of Trento, was sold at Sotheby's in 1978 for $1,300,000, to date a record price for the artist at auction.

This makes Clifford Schorer's discovery of Dürer's *Virgin and Child*, which has been resoundingly endorsed as authentic by the current leading expert on the artist, Christof Metzger, even more exceptional. We are especially grateful to them, Giulia Bartrum, Nikolaus Karlson and all the authors of this book for being able to publish the drawing now, for the first time.

ANTHONY
CRICHTON-STUART
Director, Agnews
May 2022

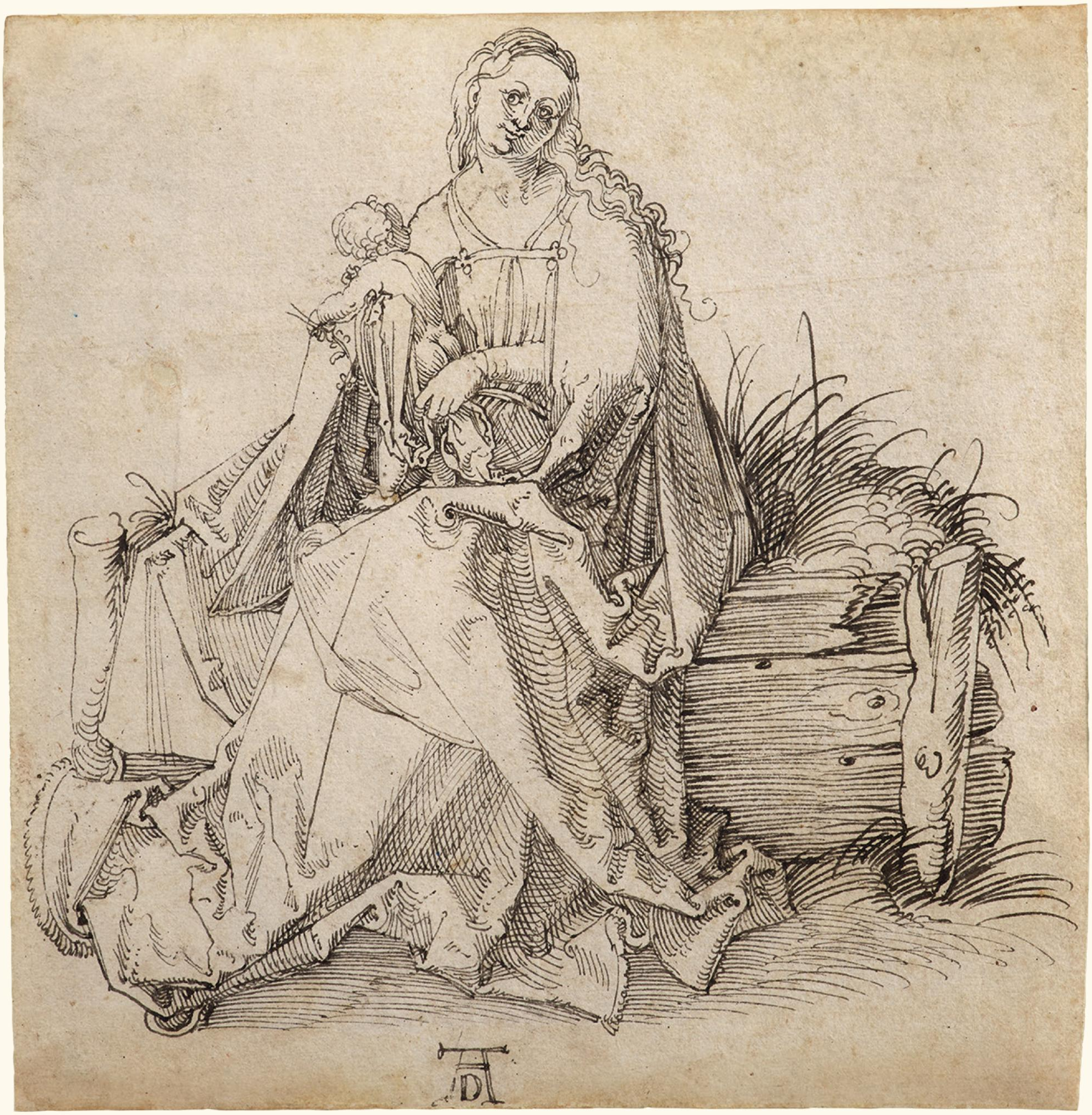

1500
AD
Albertus Durerus Noricus
ipsum me proprijs sic effin-
gebam coloribus ætatis
anno XXVIII.

Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) is one of the greatest artists of the European tradition and the first to establish himself, through the use of prints, as an international star whose works influenced artists across the continent and into the Middle East and India by the early 17th-century. His outstanding artistic achievement combined with an intellectual curiosity and a hugely prolific output have ensured that he continues to fascinate us today. He was deeply aware from a young age of his own abilities and determined on leaving for posterity a clear idea of his own appearance – he put the art of self-portraiture on the map – as well as a wealth of writings, which include an account of his family background, various letters and a detailed journal of his travels to the Netherlands in 1520–21. Although he travelled around Europe on many occasions, he remained actively involved in the social and cultural world of his hometown, Nuremberg, where his famous self-portrait as a 28-year-old in a Christ-like pose was on public display in the town hall from the 1550s, until 1805 when it was acquired by the Bavarian state collection in Munich.[1]

Dürer is undisputedly one of the most brilliant graphic artists of all time. Unlike many great printmakers who have produced sheets of technical brilliance and superlative quality, Dürer's prints – so distinctly marked with his strikingly designed AD monogram – have never gone out of fashion. They have been consistently sought after and collected by admirers since around 1500, when the collectors' market for single sheet prints was effectively created by the artist himself. So much ink has been spilled in explaining and exploring the meaning of his art, that a book about the Dürer bibliography needs to be consulted for guidance.[2] Over 1,200 of his drawings have been catalogued by Friedrich Winkler (1936–9) and Walter Strauss (1974). It would be natural to assume that any sheet of paper associated with his name had been noticed by now. All of which makes the hitherto unpublished drawing of a *Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* a remarkable occurrence (fig.1, overleaf). The drawing appeared in 2016 at an estate sale in suburban Boston, held in the home of a prominent Massachusetts architect, Jean-Paul Carlhian. It had been in the possession of the Carlhian family for more than a century. André Carlhian, father of Jean-Paul, was a financial backer and had an exclusive joint-venture agreement with Sir Joseph Duveen; they had together acquired four Dürer drawings in 1919. By 2016, however, the *Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* was obscured by a thick mount, and

Opposite:
Albrecht Dürer, *Self-portrait*,
1500, oil on panel,
inv. no. 537 © Bayerische
Staatsgemäldesammlungen,
Alte Pinakothek, Munich

Fig. 1
Albrecht Dürer
Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench, *c.*1503,
pen and black ink [actual size]
Agnews Gallery


AD

dark washes to artificially age the paper. Disguised within a heavy, ornate 18th-century French gilt fame, it had been mistaken for a print. It was correctly identified by Clifford Schorer of Agnews, who arranged for the sheet to be cleaned and conserved. During this process, the early provenance of the drawing became clearer. The original sheet had been trimmed at an early date, and was supported by at least four different sheets of paper, some of which were cut into strips, to increase the size of the sheet by about 1 cm at the upper and lower edges. Inscriptions on these early backing sheets, the outermost one of which shows an Italian watermark, make it very likely that the drawing was in the possession of an Italian collector by the first quarter of the 17th-century (for details of its early history, see *Note on the Provenance*, p.26).

The composition is executed in black ink on an approximately square sheet of fine linen paper. The Virgin sits on a grassy bench and smiles at the viewer with her head gently tilted to the right. In an unusual departure from standard idiom the child is standing on her lap with a flower in his hand leaning into the bend of her left arm; he turns to look up at his mother, and presents the viewer the back of his naked body and exposed buttocks. His face is fully in shadow, yet beautifully suggested. The effect of this is to give his full attention to his mother, while she is engaged, or even interrupted, by the viewer. Lush curly hair falls over her shoulder and back. Her cloak, draped around her shoulders, is of a suggestively

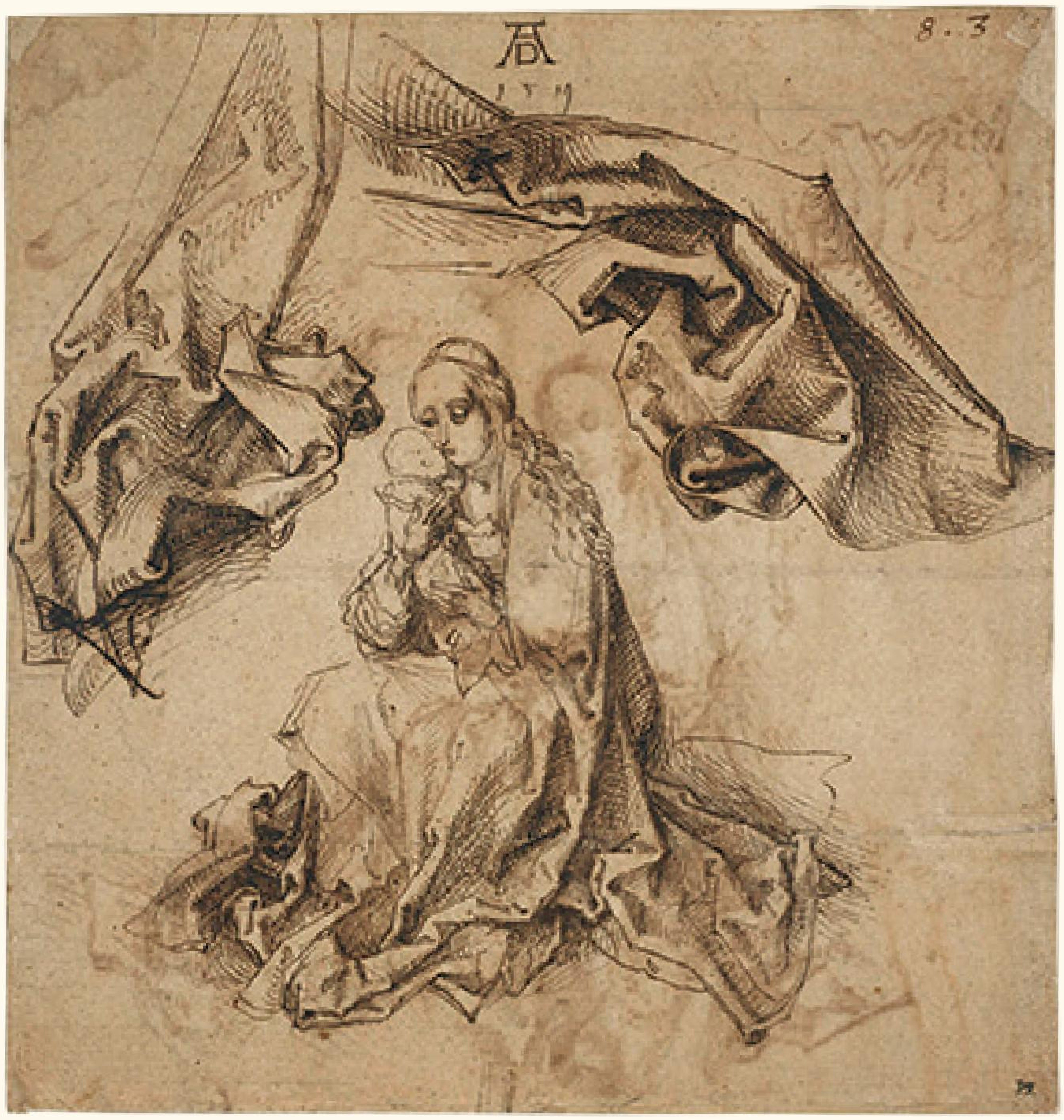


Fig.2
Albrecht Dürer, *Seated Virgin and Child with two drapery studies*, *c.*1491–2, pen and brown ink, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1983,0416.2 recto

rich, heavy material which cascades over her legs, and spreads a fur-trimmed hem in opulent folds over the grassy ground. The seat is built from posts and planks rammed into the ground and is certainly filled with soil, which provides the substrate for the grass that gives its name to the location. Light from above left provides contrast in the robe and thus space and volume, illuminating the Virgin's forehead and left cheek so that her eyes, nose and mouth emerge from the shaded right side of her face. This particular pose represents one of the most refined and highly finished drawings of the subject by Dürer. The artist's lifelong engagement with the subject of the Virgin and Child, second only in importance to his involvement with the Passion of Christ, produced 15 engravings, six woodcuts, 20 paintings, and over 70 drawings and studies. There are, however, only a handful of finished drawings, completed in their own right. The *Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* belongs to this latter category.

Dürer's preoccupation with the theme of the Virgin and Child was associated with the prevailing cult of the Virgin Mary, which reached its peak in Germany in the years just before the onset of the Reformation initiated by Martin Luther in 1517 when he nailed his 95 theses against the sale of indulgences on the door of All Saints' church in Wittenberg (see Angela Hass, p.49). Dürer's response to the subject is first seen in his early drawings of the *Virgin and Child with angels playing music* of 1485 in Berlin, the *Holy Family under*

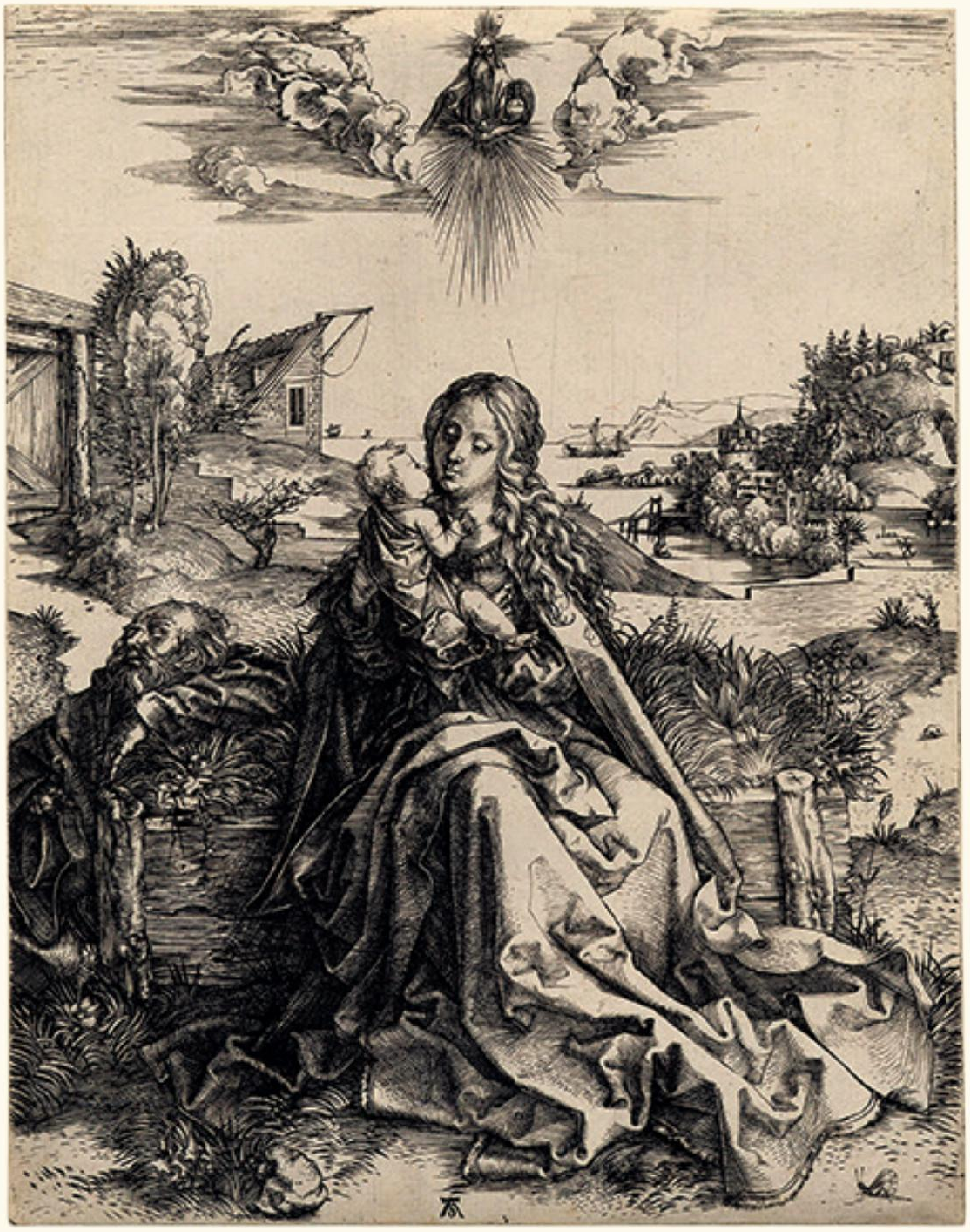


Fig.3
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child with a dragonfly*, *c.*1495, engraving, British Museum, London, inv. no. E,4.50

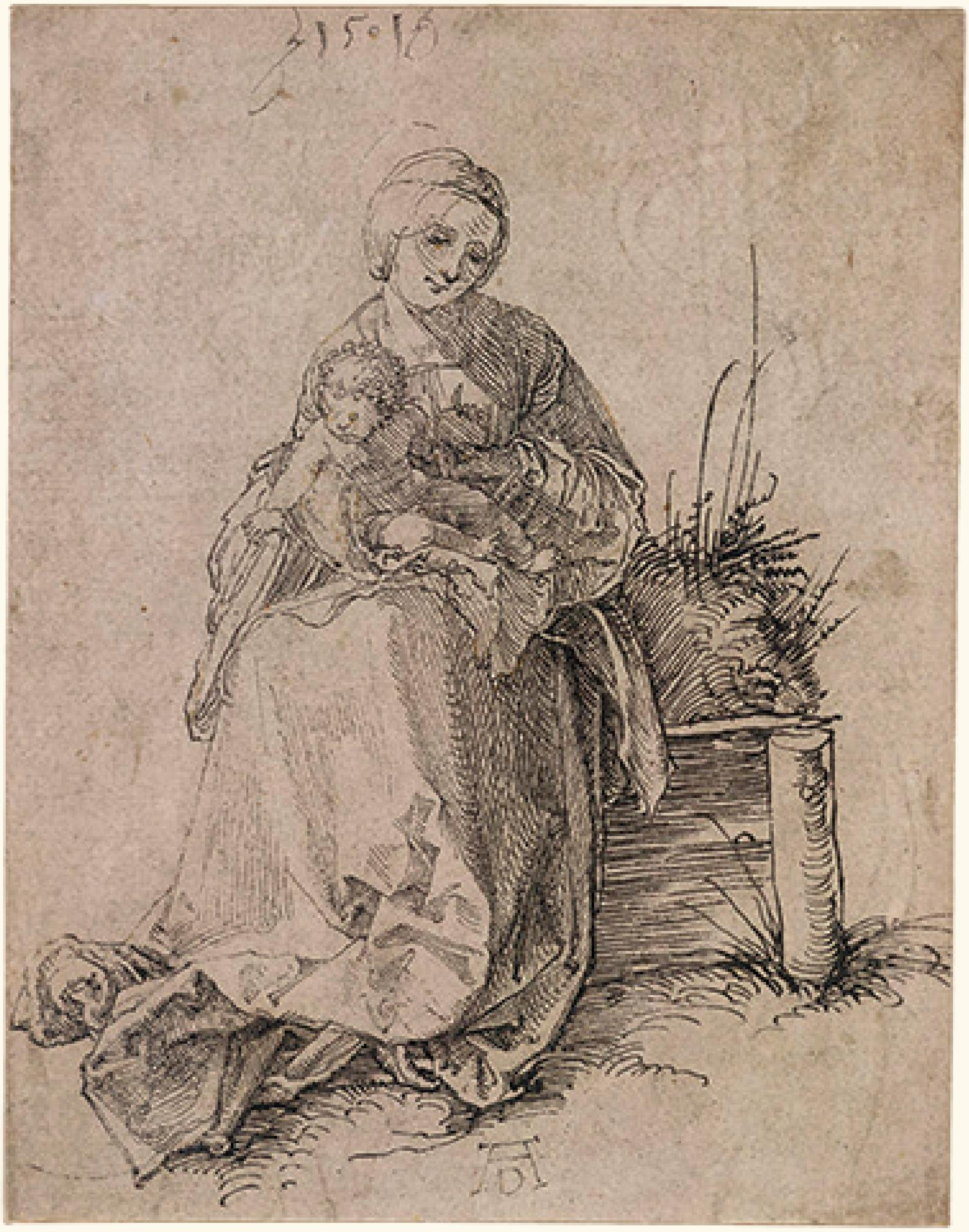


Fig. 4
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child seated on a bank*, 1501, pen and black ink, British Museum, London, inv. no. SL, 5218.136

a Tree in a private collection, the *Seated Virgin and Child with two drapery studies* in the British Museum (fig.2), the *Virgin with Musical Angels* in the Louvre, and the *Holy Family* in Erlangen, the latter three drawings of *c.* 1491–2.[3] While the earliest drawing is still entirely in the style and tradition of the third quarter of the 15th-century, as taught to him by his Nuremberg mentor Michael Wolgemut, the later ones were drawn when Dürer, as a young journeyman, was much preoccupied with the work of Martin Schongauer (*c.* 1440/53–1491) the famous artist from Alsace whose reputation is based on small devotional paintings and engravings of the Virgin and Child. Dürer's early drawings were an important source of reference for his *Virgin and Child with a dragonfly* [4] (fig.3), one of the earliest engravings that he made when he first opened his workshop in Nuremberg in 1495. His next engraving of the subject, the *Virgin and Child with a monkey*, *c.* 1498 (fig.31) reflects an interest in structural form and exotic elements that inspired Dürer when he was first in Italy from *c.* 1494–5, while retaining the heavy drapery and the grassy bench of his previous compositions. Dürer was a compulsive and prolific draughtsman and in his drawings continued to experiment freely with different ideas of pose and structure for a maternal figure grappling with a twisting, lively child. The present sheet fits with other studies of 1501–3 which express these creative ideas and show closely comparable penwork: in particular, *Virgin and Child seated on a bank*, dated by the artist 1501 [5] (fig.4), *Woman in Nuremberg costume with a child by a tree stump*, dated 1502 [6] (fig.5), and the *Virgin and Child seated on a grassy bank*, signed and dated 1503 [7] (fig.6). Dürer would have referred to composition studies such as these – especially in the structure of the drapery – for the design of his engraving dated 1503, *Virgin and Child seated on a bank*, in which he has formalised the composition by showing the Virgin suckling the Child, and by creating an enclosed space for the figures in a fenced-off garden (fig.29). The present sheet is signed with a monogram in the same ink as the original drawing, which appears no fewer than 20 times on autograph Dürer drawings dated between 1501–1514, but significantly, it is particularly close in execution to the drawing dated 1503, which provides useful evidence to establish a date in that year (figs.7 and 8). A very similar monogram and date decorated with flourishes is also seen on Dürer's *Head of a Windisch peasant woman* of 1505 [8] (fig.9). A close link between *Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* and the 1503 drawing is also established by an identical trident and ball watermark in both sheets, which is recorded in the paper of more than two hundred sheets drawn by the artist until about 1517. Further details on the trident watermark are given in the article by Angela Cambell in this publication. [9]

Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench is also associated with Dürer's most elaborate composition of the Virgin and Child seated on a grassy bench or bank – the highly finished and somewhat enigmatic drawing of the *Virgin with a multitude of animals*, made in about 1506 [10] (fig.10). A delicate drawing made in pen and ink with subdued watercolours, the *Virgin with a multitude of animals* shows the Virgin and Child seated in a landscape; still immersed in the book on her lap, she is interrupted by the Child who reaches to the side to break off a flower for his mother. This place of rest is located in the middle of a paradisiacal garden, awash in a sea of flowers and inhabited by a mass of animals and birds. Dürer's composition ultimately stands in the tradition of the *hortus conclusus*, a mystical theme of the Late Middle Ages whose literary inspiration goes back to the Old Testament text of the *Song of Songs* (4:12): 'You are a garden locked up, my sister, my bride; you are a spring enclosed, a sealed fountain.'

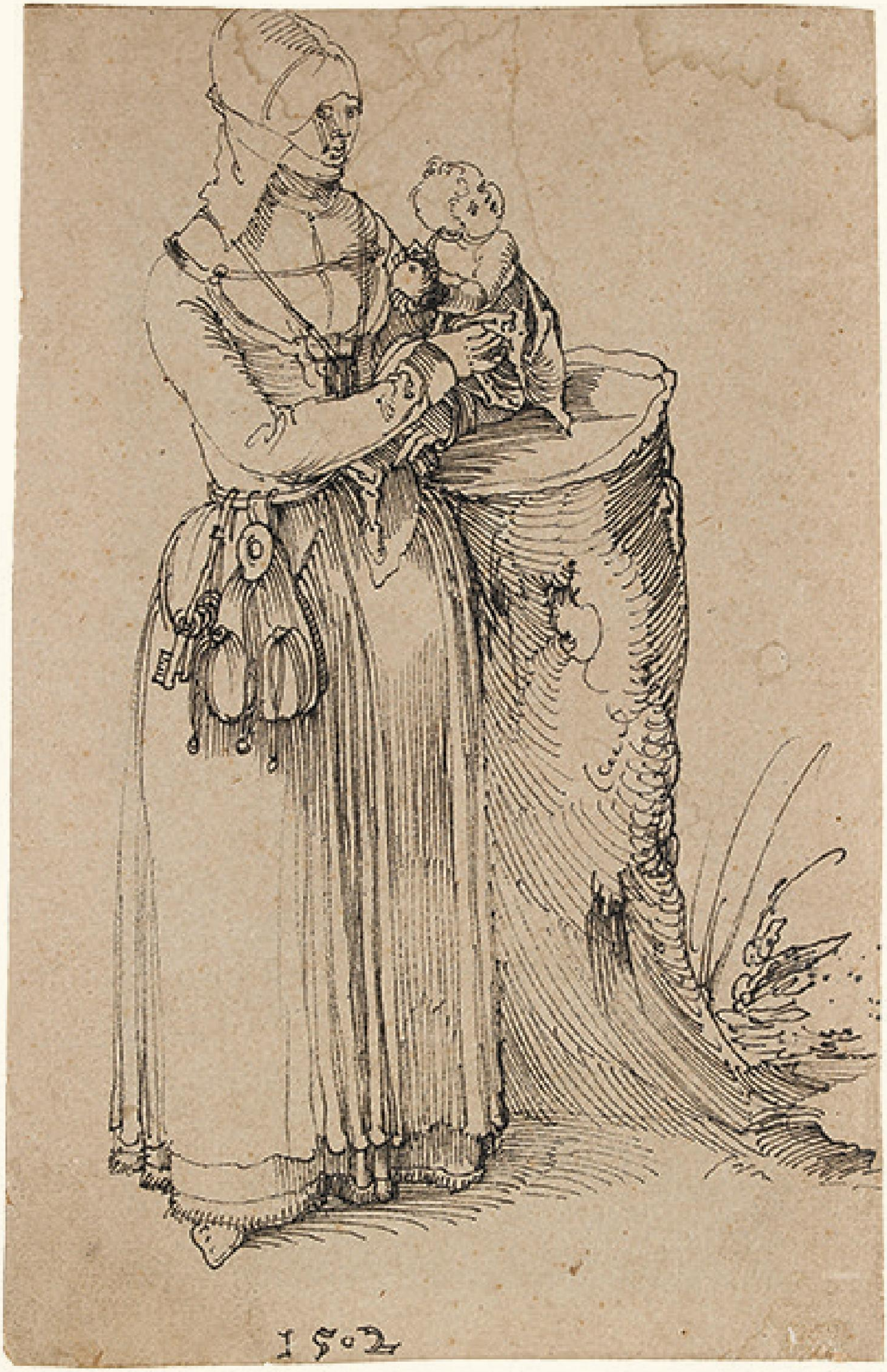


Fig.5
Albrecht Dürer, *Woman in Nuremberg costume with a child by a tree stump*, 1502, pen and black ink, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. no. WA 1863.414
PARKER I, 286

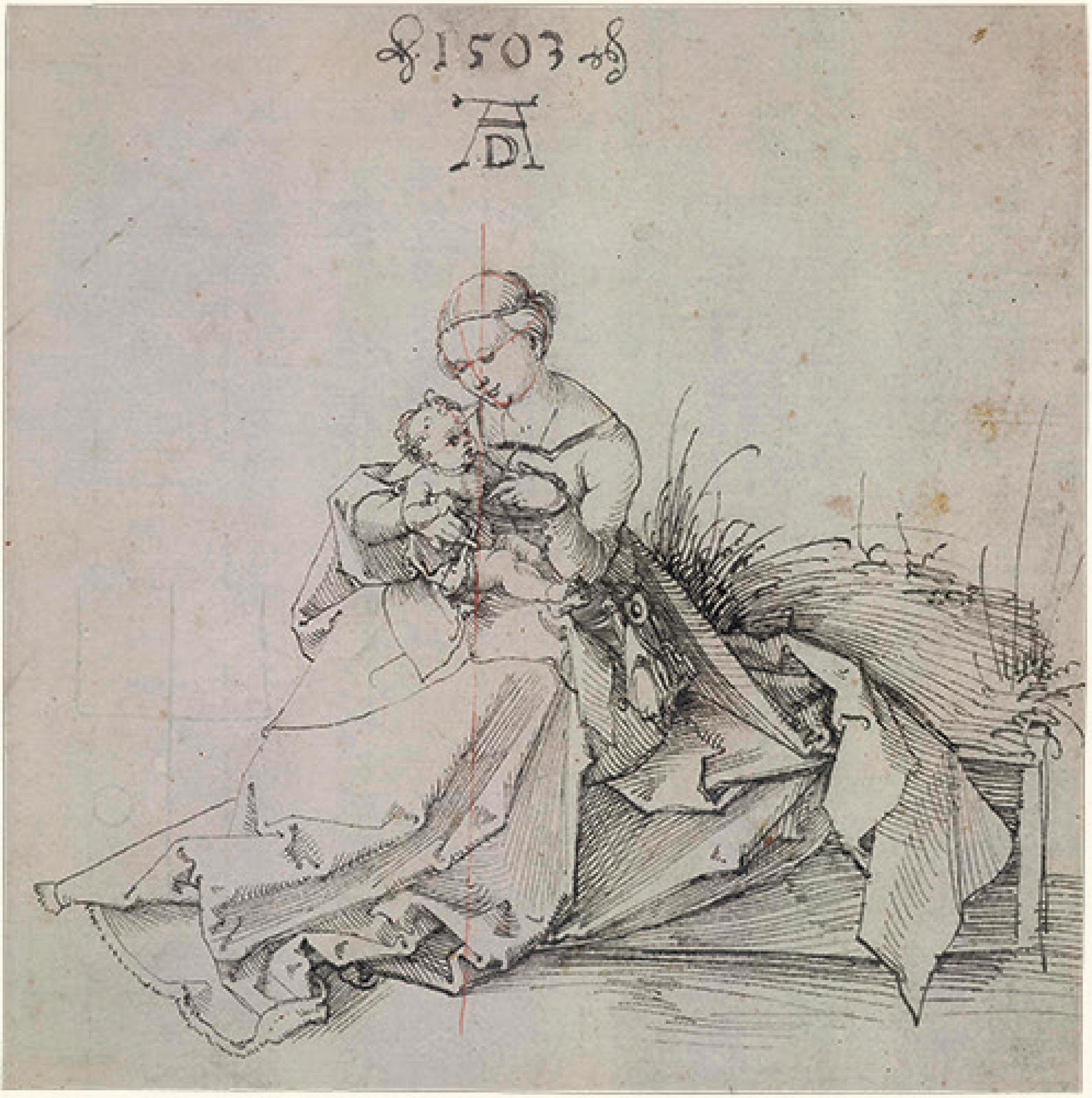


Fig. 6
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child seated on a grassy bank*, signed and dated 1503, pen and black ink with red chalk, British Museum, London, inv. no 1846,0918.8

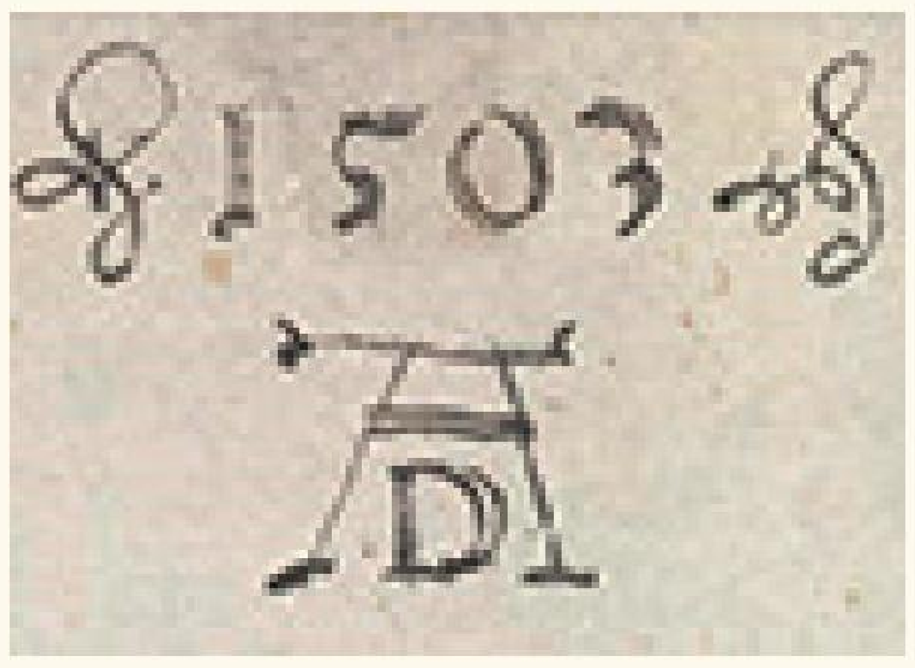


Fig.7
Detail of date and monogram in *Virgin and Child seated on a grassy bank*, signed and dated 1503 (fig.6)

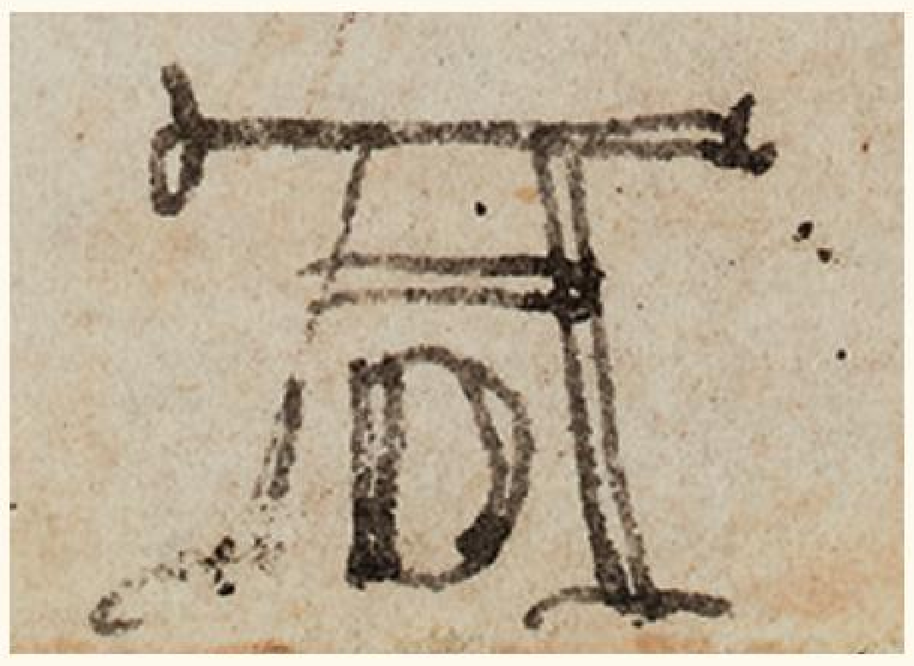


Fig.8
Detail of monogram in *The Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* (fig.1)

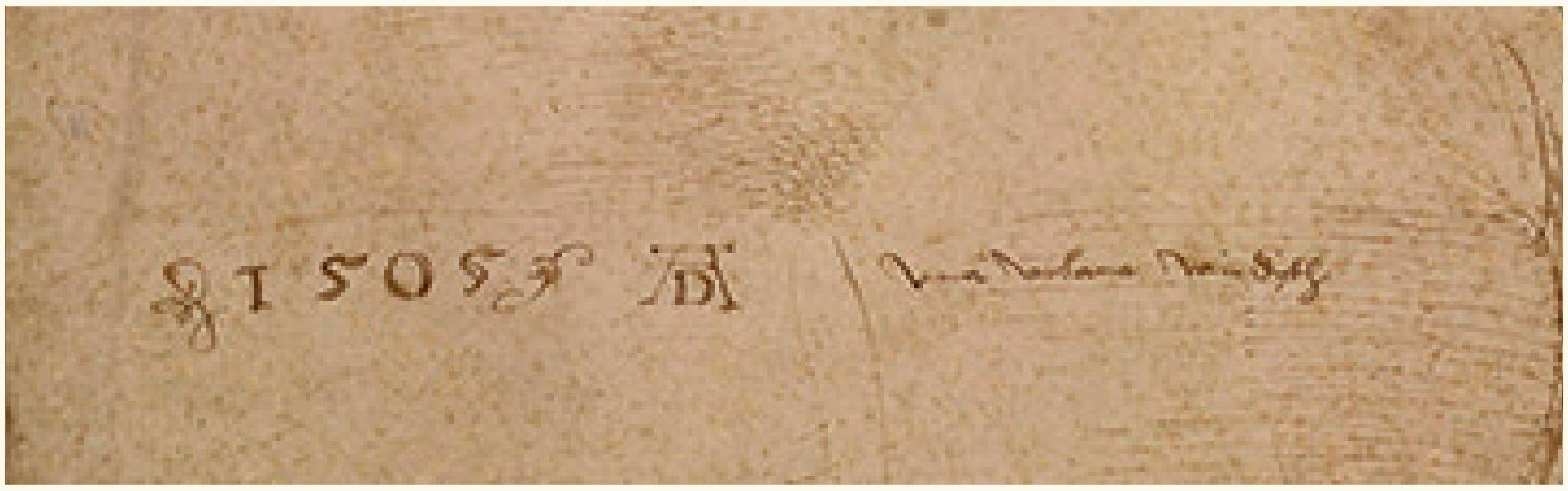


Fig.9
Detail of date and monogram in *Head of a Windisch peasant woman*, 1505, pen and brown ink, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1930,0324.1

Two earlier variations of the composition – one in Paris dated 1503 with a less complex spatial disposition and a sketch in Berlin that precedes the Albertina sheet – show Dürer experimenting to find the final form. [11] Christof Metzger's suggestion that the Vienna drawing was made in Venice in 1506 is supported by the watermark that is documented in northern Italy between 1503 and 1507. [12] In the end, the composition was perhaps intended to be used in a painting which was never undertaken. At any rate, this would explain the faint, but visible squaring of the Vienna drawing (which is also seen in the earlier Paris version), an established method of converting such a design into a large format. Displaying a rapid spontaneity, the highly detailed composition of the present pen drawing focusses entirely on the position of the Virgin and Child. The drapery and the evocation of the hidden forms, as ever in Dürer, is a central feature of the work. The artist pays particular attention here to the spatial disposition of the opulent drapery and how it cascades over the edge of the bench on the right-hand side, finally spreading out on the ground. The comparison with the Albertina drawing reveals a close relationship, especially in the treatment of the drapery, and it seems clear that the artist referred to it when planning his composition of *Virgin with a multitude of animals*. However, the drawing is likely to belong to an early stage of the process, in which the artist is working out a different position and gesture of the child, who here is seen standing on the left and twisting to face his mother, and in the final version leans over to the right, so that his act of picking a flower is even more pronounced. In the Paris drawing this motif has not yet been established, and the Virgin's loose, upper bodice and flowing hair is closer to the present sheet than to the *Virgin with a multitude of animals*, in which the artist, inspired by Italian sources, has made the bodice and sleeve more close-fitting, and covered the Virgin's hair with a veil. It is testimony of his creative process that

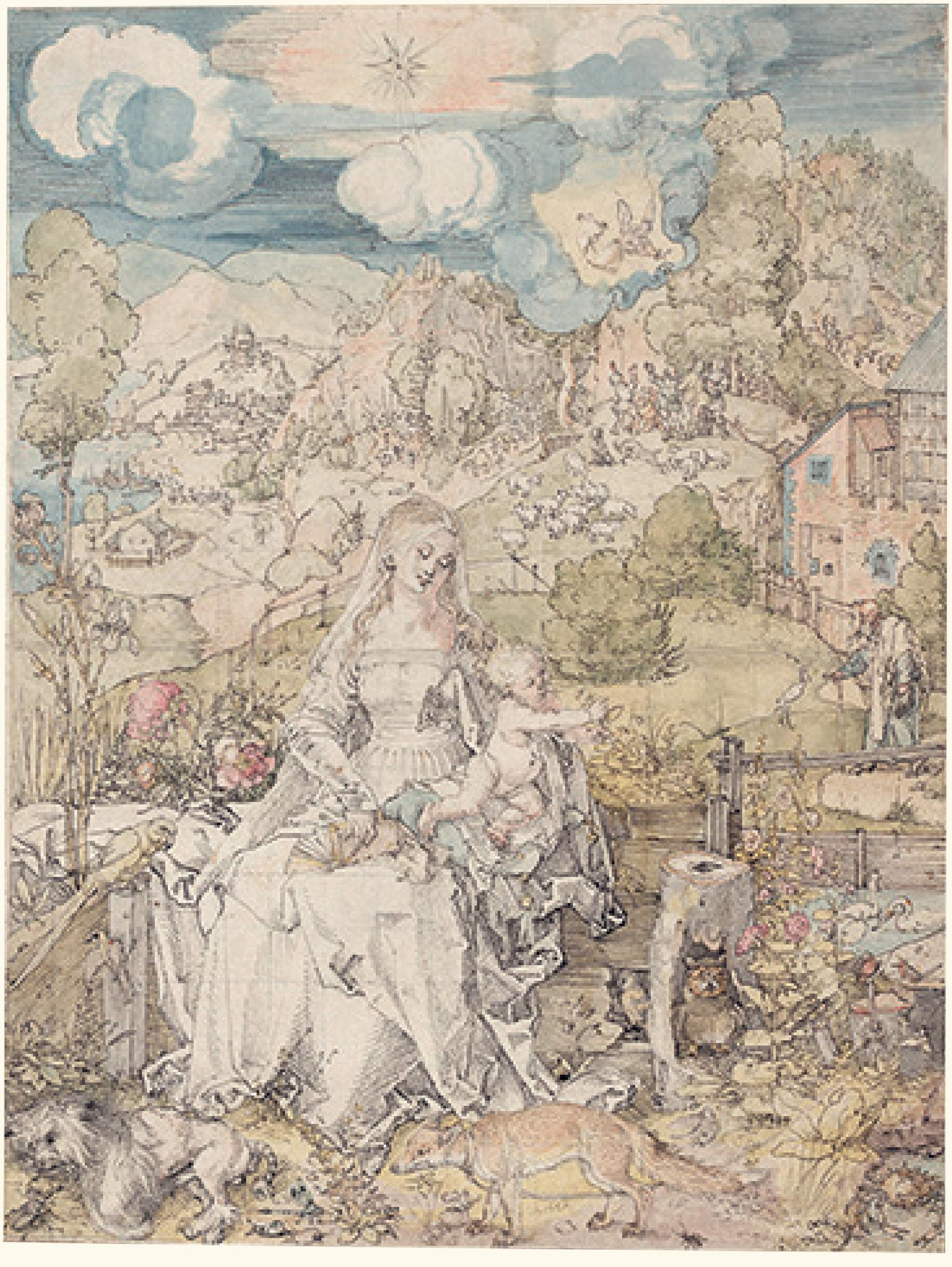


Fig. 10
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child with a multitude of animals*, *c.* 1506, pen and blackish brown ink and watercolour, squared in black chalk from the Virgin's head downwards, The Albertina Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 3066

Dürer's work extends over many years until the final solution is found.

As it can be established with reasonable certainty that the *Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* dates from around 1503, it is also instructive to consider the work of Dürer's workshop at this period, especially that of Hans Baldung (1484/5–1545) who was Dürer's most talented pupil. Baldung settled in Strasbourg in 1509, but the two artists remained lifelong friends: verse prayers composed by Dürer were used on broadsheets designed by Baldung of *c.* 1510–11,[13] Dürer took a stock of prints by Baldung to sell and donate on his journey to the Netherlands of 1520–21, and Baldung acquired a lock of his friend's hair when Dürer died in 1528.[14] It is considered that Baldung worked in Dürer's studio from *c.* 1503–8, covering the period of time that Dürer lived in Italy; and it is certainly evident that Dürer's art had a major influence on the development of Baldung's graphic style early in his career. Baldung's woodcut, the *Crowned Virgin and Child*, *c.* 1505–7

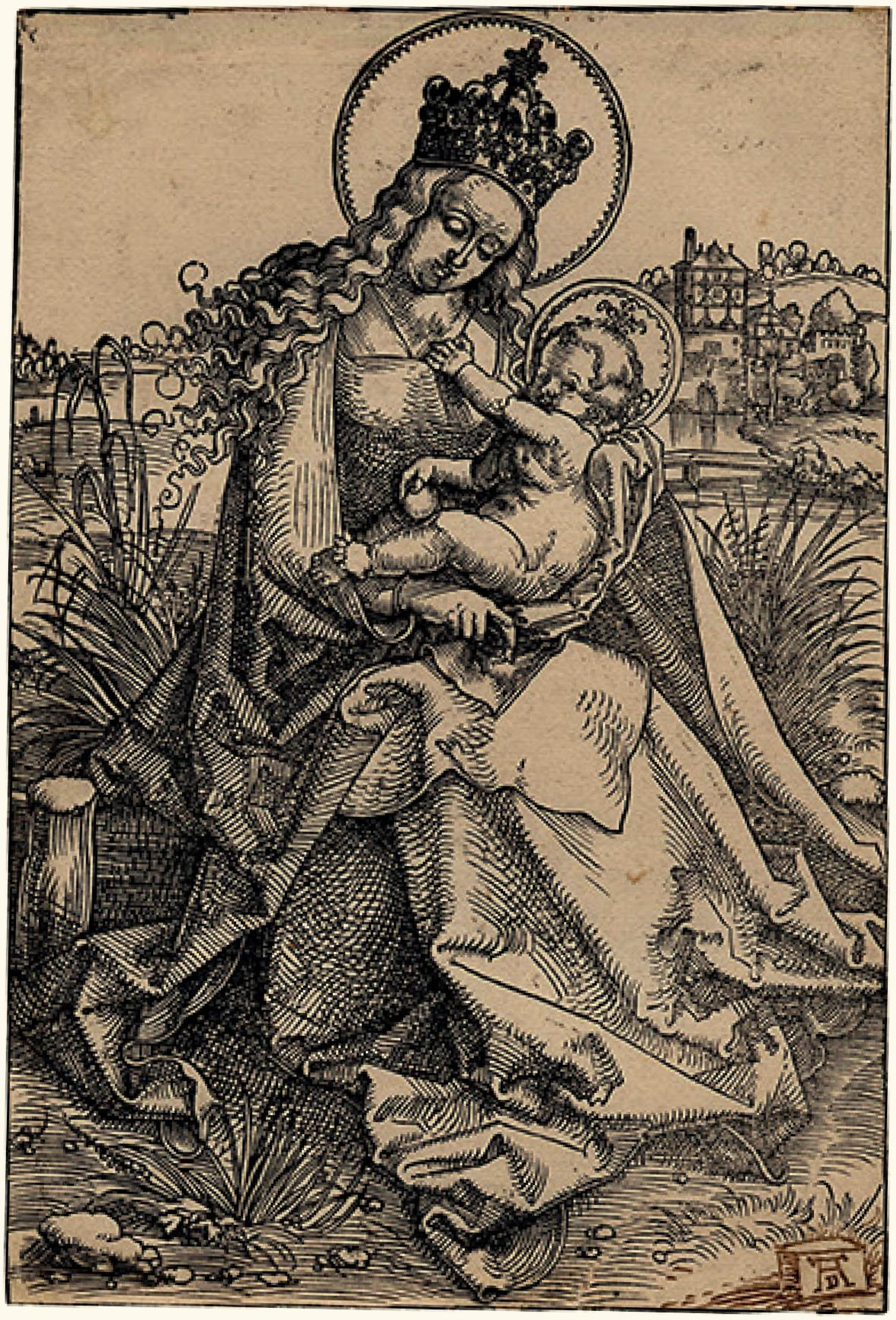


Fig.11
Hans Baldung, *Crowned Virgin and Child on a grassy bench*, *c.*1505–7, woodcut, AD monogram added at a later date in pen and ink, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1891,0617.2

(fig.11) is inspired by the landscape setting of *Virgin and Child with a monkey* (fig.31) with figures and drapery influenced by Dürer's drawings which would have been available in the workshop – including the present sheet which shows the Virgin wearing a similar type of bodice, although Baldung's drapery folds are much simplified. Baldung's drawing of the *Virgin and Child at a well* of 1504 shows the same subject matter (fig.12) expressed in a very different spirit – the flyaway hair, a seemingly weightless angel holding the crown, and the child putting his hand into his mother's bodice, all reveal Baldung's expressive character which emphasises significant differences with Dürer's more controlled, structured draughtsmanship. A key painting of this period that was produced in Dürer's workshop, the *Virgin and Child with the iris*, *c.*1503–8 [15] (fig.13) also reveals the impact of Dürer's drawings. The consensus of opinion on this painting is that it was probably started in the early 1500s under Dürer's supervision, and then mainly painted in the workshop while

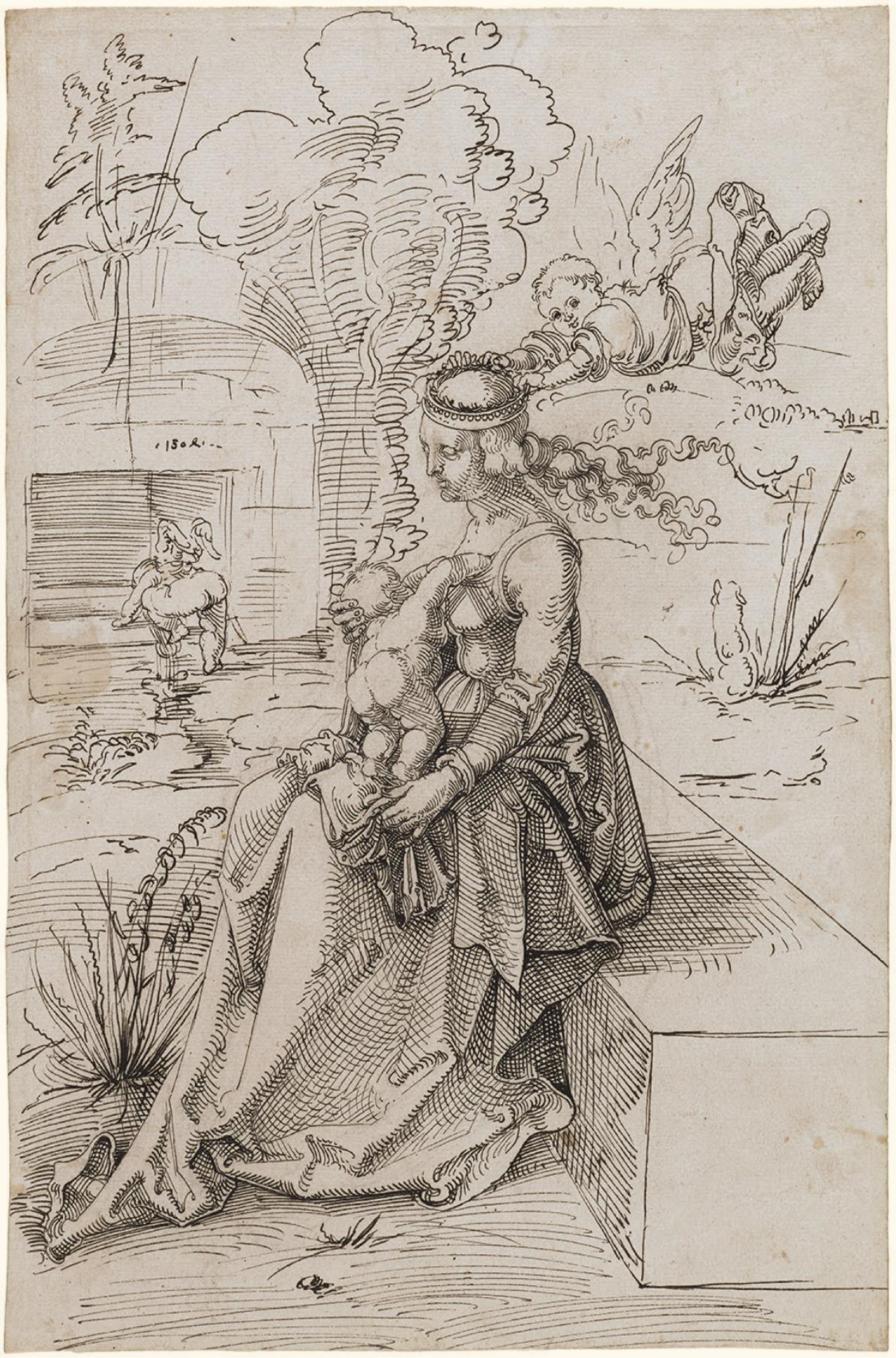


Fig.12
Hans Baldung, *Virgin and Child at a well*, 1504, pen and blackish brown ink, over traces of black leadpoint, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. U.IX.1

he was away in Italy from 1505–6, with Baldung completing the figure of the Virgin in her startlingly red dress. The date 1508 was painted over a layer of varnish added on completion; and there is an AD monogram visible on the wall behind the Virgin that was added in the 18th century. Various drawings by Dürer that were available in the workshop were incorporated into the design: the large watercolour of an iris, the famous sheet known as the *Large piece of turf*[16] and a drawing of a bugle and lily of the valley.[17] For the figures of the Virgin and Child, Dürer's pen and ink studies such as *Virgin and Child seated on a bank*, of 1503 and *Virgin and Child holding a flower seated on a grassy bench* certainly played an instructive part in the composition of this monumental painting.

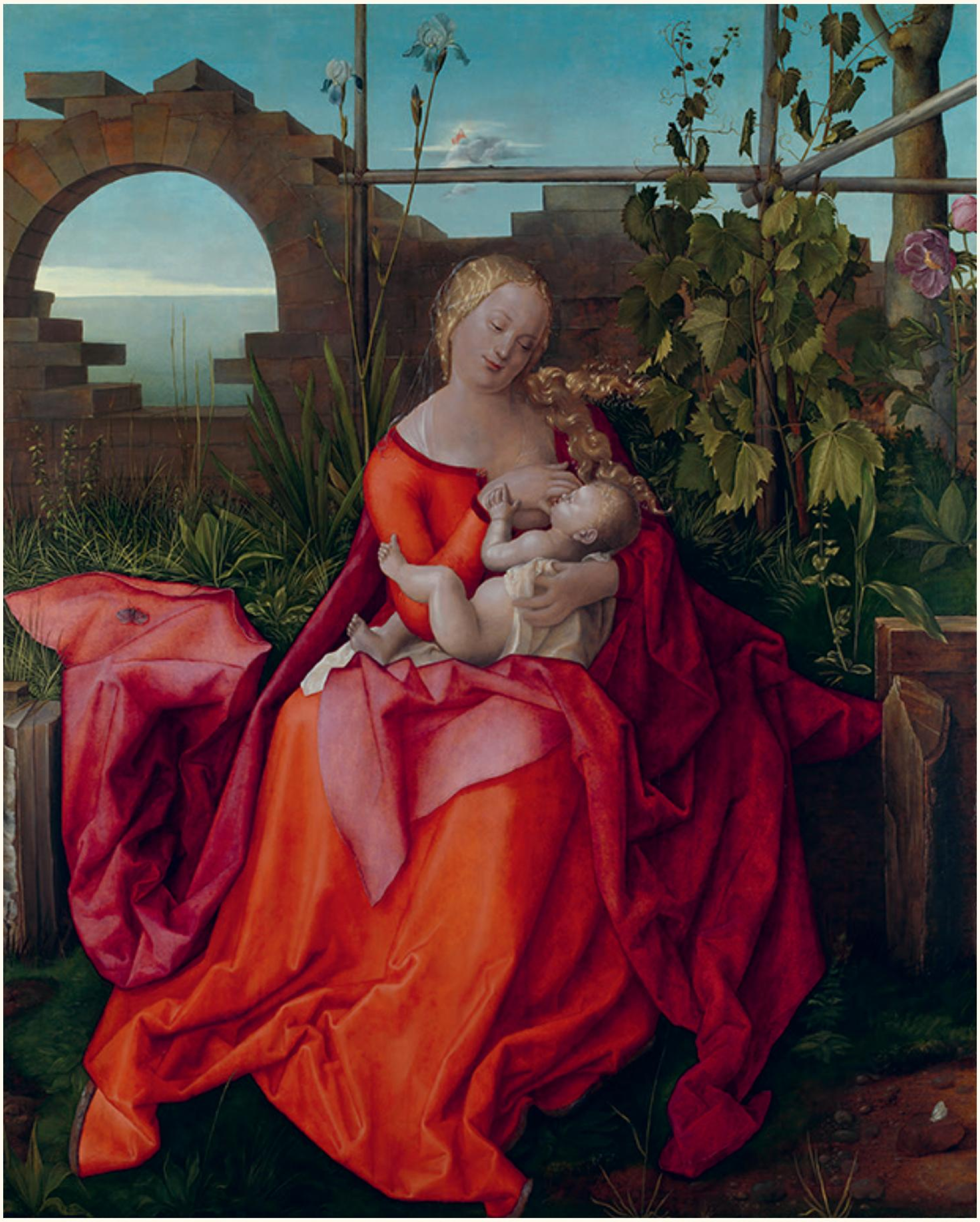


Fig.13
Dürer Workshop with Hans Baldung, *Virgin and Child with the iris*, c.1503–8, oil on limewood panel, National Gallery, London, inv. no. 5592
© The National Gallery, London

GIULIA BARTRUM is a freelance art historian specialising in north European prints and drawings who was the Curator of German Prints and Drawings at the British Museum from 1993 to 2019. Her publications include *German Renaissance Prints* (1995), *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy* (2002) and *German Romantic Prints and Drawings from an English Private Collection* (2011).

1 Albrecht Dürer, *Self-portrait in a fur coat*, 1500, oil on limewood, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. 537.

2 M. Mende, *Dürer-Bibliographie*, Nuremberg, 1971.

3 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KDZ 1/ Strauss 1485/1; Sotheby's, New York, 1/9/1996, lot 17/Strauss 1491/6; British Museum, London, inv. no. 1983,0416.2/Strauss 1491/4 and 5; Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. 18647/Strauss 1491/10; Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität, inv. no. B155/Strauss 1491/9.

4 Meder 42.

5 *Virgin and Child seated on a bank*, 1501, AD monogram a later addition, pen and black ink. British Museum, inv. no. SL, 5218.136 / Strauss 1501/4.

6 *Woman in Nuremberg costume with a child by a tree stump*, 1502, pen and brown ink, Ashmolean, inv. no. WA 1863.414; Parker I, 286; Strauss 1502/19.

7 *Virgin and Child seated on a grassy bank*, signed and dated 1503, pen and black ink with red chalk. British Museum, inv. no. 1846,0918.8; Strauss 1503/19.

8 *Head of a Windisch peasant woman*, British Museum, inv. no. 1930,0324.1; Strauss 1505/27.

9 See Angela Campbell, p.31.

10 The Albertina Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 3066/Strauss 1503/22.

11 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. 18603/Strauss 1503/23; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KDZ 15387/Strauss 1503/21.

12 C. Metzger, *Albrecht Dürer* (exh. cat. The Albertina Museum, Vienna) Munich/London/ New York 2019, pp.170–73, cat. no. 60.

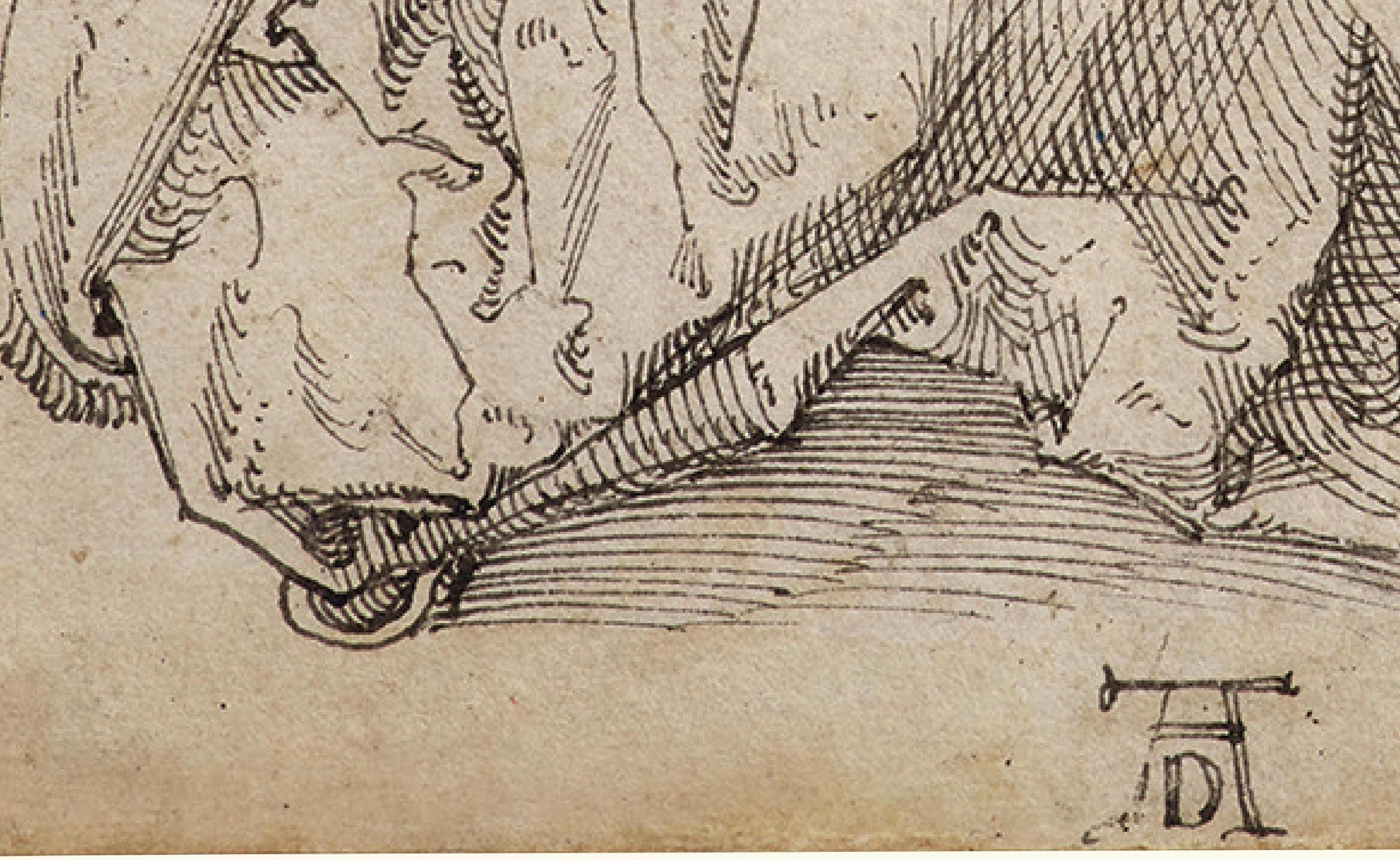
13 See Ashcroft, 2017, pp.311–13, 324–5.

14 The lock of Dürer's hair originally in the possession of Hans Baldung is today in Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste.

15 London, National Gallery, inv. no. 5592.

16 Kunsthalle Bremen, inv. no. 99-1851/25, Strauss 1495/26; and The Albertina Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 3075, Strauss 1503/29.

17 London, British Museum, inv. no. 1895,0915.986; Strauss App.II/15.



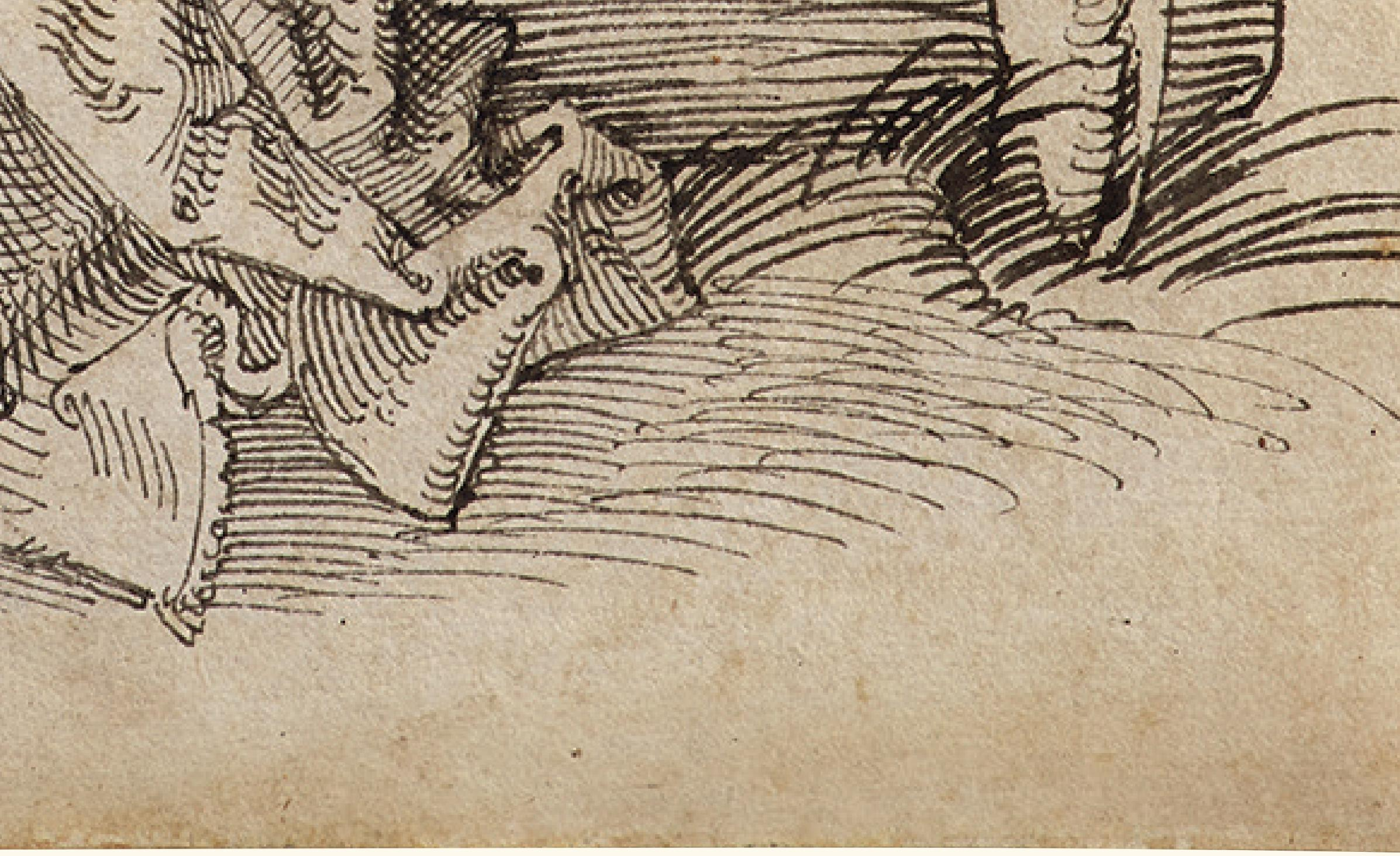
ALBRECHT DÜRER (Nuremberg 1471–1528)

Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench, *c.*1503

Signed by the artist in monogram (lower centre): ‘AD’
Pen and black ink on fine linen paper 6 ⅜ × 6 ⁷⁄₁₆ in. (162 × 164 mm)
Watermark: Fugger trademark (Trident and Ring, also known as Trident and Ball, or Trident and Shield)[1]

Despite subsequent interventions, the drawing is in superb condition with only one small worm hole to the surface which does not impact the inked surface at any point.

Above:
Detail of Albrecht Dürer,
Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench
(fig.1, p.11)



PROVENANCE

Probably Willibald Imhoff (1519–1580) and his heirs, Nuremberg
Probably a member of the d'Este family, Modena, last quarter of the 16th century;
Probably brought to France in 1797;
Maison Carlhian, Paris, in partnership with Joseph Duveen (d. 1939) of Duveen Brothers, New York, probably October 1919;
André Carlhian (1883–1967), likely after 1939;
Thence by descent to Jean-Paul Carlhian, Concord, Massachusetts until his death in 2012;
Private Collection, Massachusetts

Note on the Provenance

The earliest provenance of this drawing will always be difficult to establish. The original sheet was trimmed at an early date, and until recently conserved, was supported by at least four different sheets of paper, some of which were cut into strips to increase the size of the sheet by about 1 cm at the upper and lower edges. One of them bears the handwritten number '108'. The innermost support, on late 16th-century paper, is of the same dimensions as the original sheet and has an inscription in brown ink of about the same date, 'Modena No.5' (fig.14). The outermost support is inscribed in an 18th-century hand 'Alberto Duro', the usual spelling in Italy at that time[2] (fig.15). Its watermark shows a fleur-de-lis in a double circle, with a trefoil suspended above and the letter M attached below (fig.16). Similar watermarks date from the 1560s to the 1590s and are mostly located in Ferrara and Modena, which was the sphere of influence of the d'Este family (information kindly provided by Peter Bower Paper History and Analysis).[3] These inscriptions suggest that the drawing was acquired by a collector in Italy, where Dürer prints and drawings were popular from the artist's lifetime onwards. For example, the inventory of Cardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte, who died in Rome in 1626, lists 10 ebony frames with copper plates by Albrecht Dürer.[4] The printing plates for the *Engraved Passion* could be a potential candidate. An inventory drawn up six years after the death of Cardinal Alessandro Orsini in 1633 also lists a large number of copper plates, some of which can be associated with Lucas van Leyden, Sebald Beham and Albrecht Dürer, and more than 10 wood blocks by Dürer.[5]

Various opportunities for the acquisition of the present drawing could have arisen during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. It is known that sales of drawings from Dürer's studio in Nuremberg were made at various points by his heirs, Endres and Ursula Dürer, before the latter sold large portions of the estate to the merchant and collector, Willibald Imhoff, in 1557. By 1568, Willibald had inherited the library of his grandfather, Dürer's closest friend, Willibald Pirckheimer, and had assembled the largest collection of works by Dürer in Nuremberg. After Imhoff's death in 1580, it is known that further items were disposed of by his son, Karl, before he sold the bulk of the collection in 1588 to Rudolf II of Prague; and other Dürer material was disposed of by Ursula Dürer's niece, Regina Alnpeck in about 1580, some of which was acquired by Rudolf II's court artist, Bartholomeus Spranger (1546–1611) whose collection was sold, after the death of his heir, his nephew Gommer Spranger, at an Amsterdam auction in 1638.[6]

The Imhoffs in Nuremberg continued to offer drawings by Dürer until the 1630s; an inventory from 1664 attests that the holdings were then exhausted. That Nuremberg was still an important centre for Dürer drawings in the early 17th century is proven by a letter addressed from Nuremberg on 17 May 1636 by Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, to his economist, scientist and philosopher friend William Petty. Here Arundel complains that after the sales of recent years, there are no more works by Dürer, Holbein and other masters to be found. Of particular interest here is reference to an Italian who was exceptionally enthusiastic about purchasing: 'They say within these 3 or 4 yeeres [since 1632–33] great store of good thinges haue bin carryed out at easy rates; and, not longe since a lifeheuer dyinge [an art connoisseur, most probably Hans Imhoff III (died 1627), passed away a few years ago], an Italian hath bought and carryed away many of AD drawinges.' A short time later, on 3 September 1636, Arundel mentions in the postscript of a letter addressed to Petty from Regensburg a 'merchant in Bologna wch shewed Daniel Neece [the Venice-based Flemish art dealer Daniel Nijs] so many designs of Alberto Durero there, wch pray enquire of'.[7] The fact that Italian collectors were making acquisitions in Nuremberg is reasonably

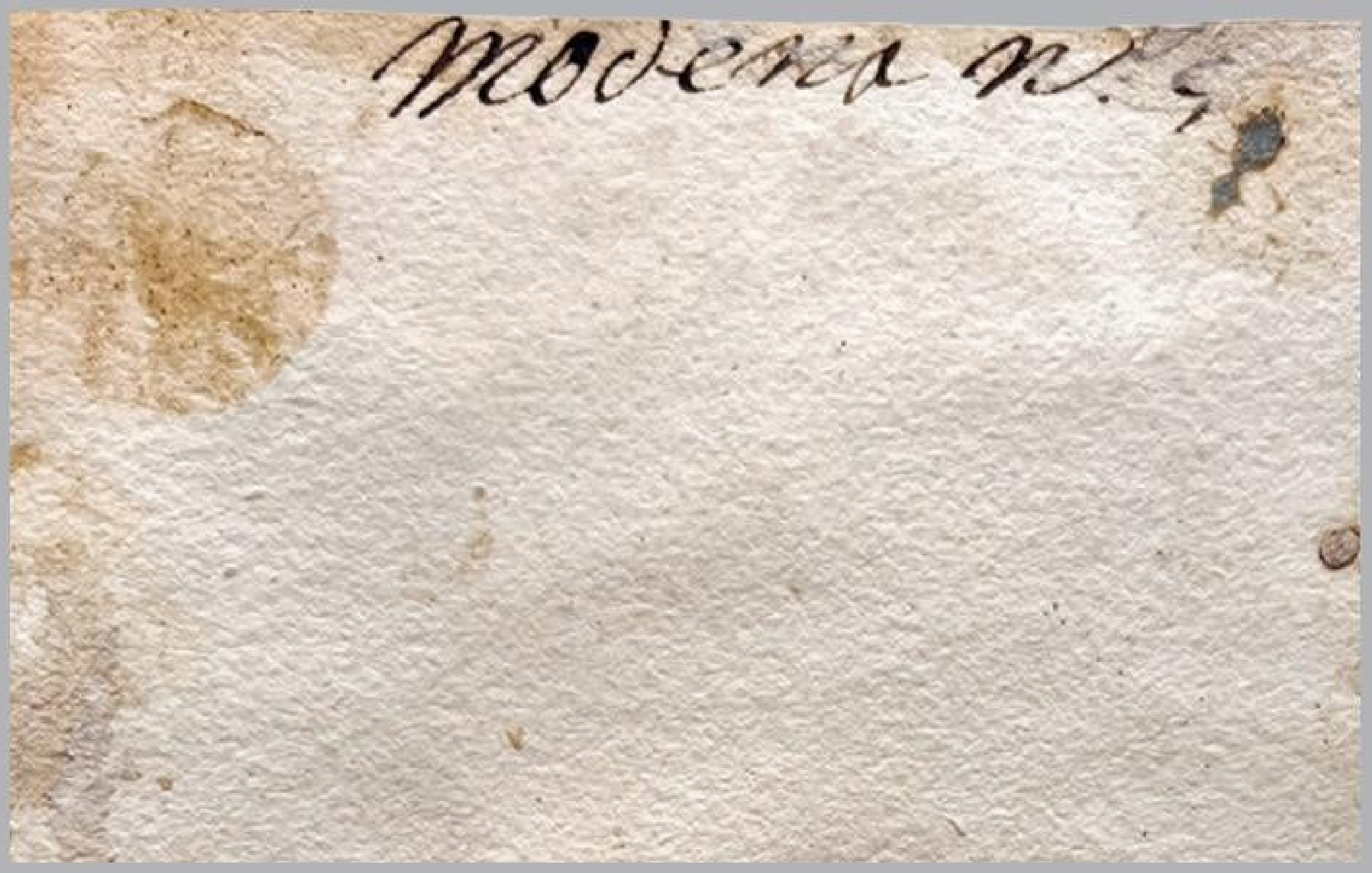


Fig. 14
Innermost backing sheet,
inscribed 'Modena No 5'

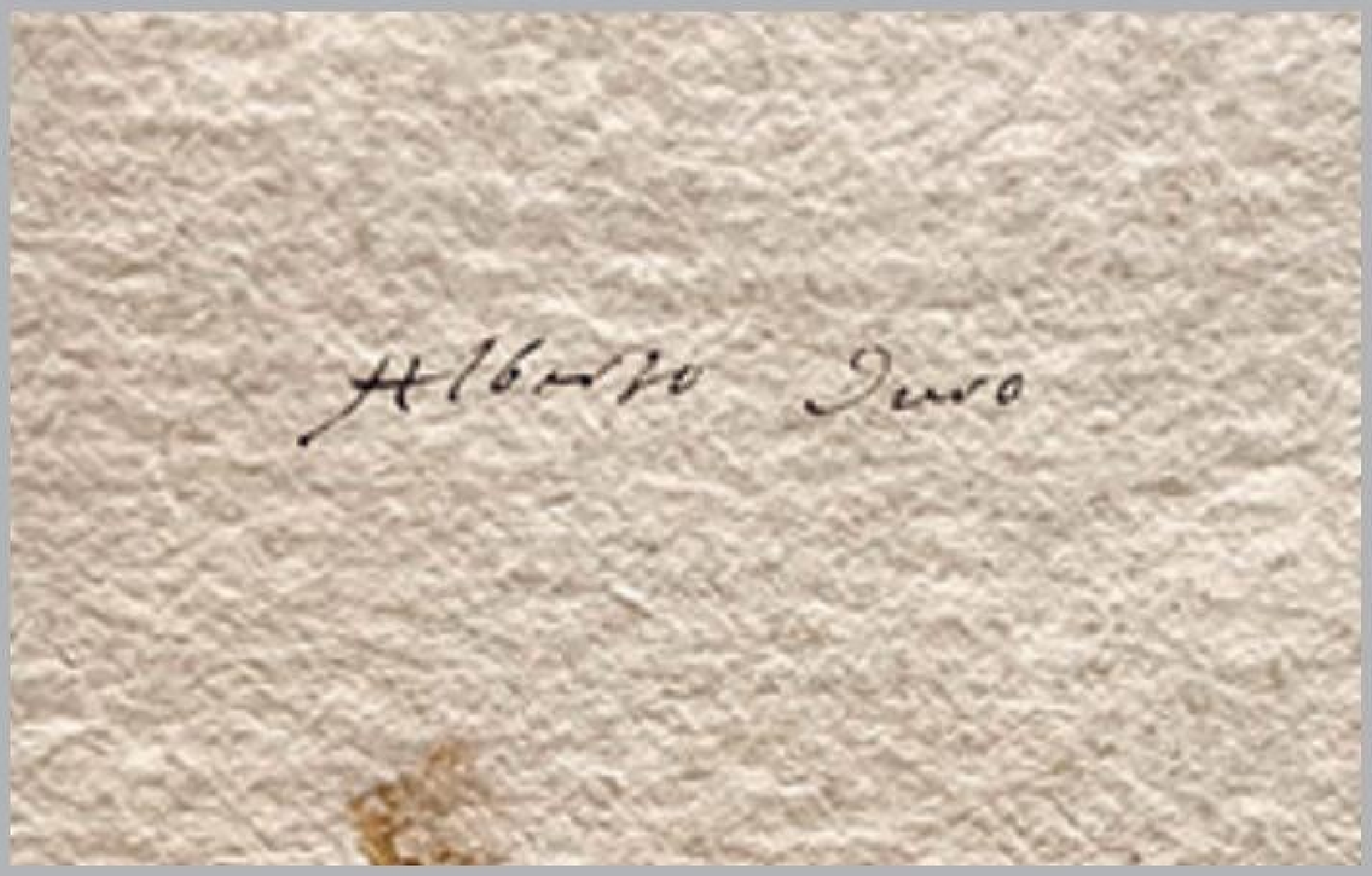

Alberto Duro

Fig. 15
Outermost backing sheet,
inscribed 'Alberto Duro'

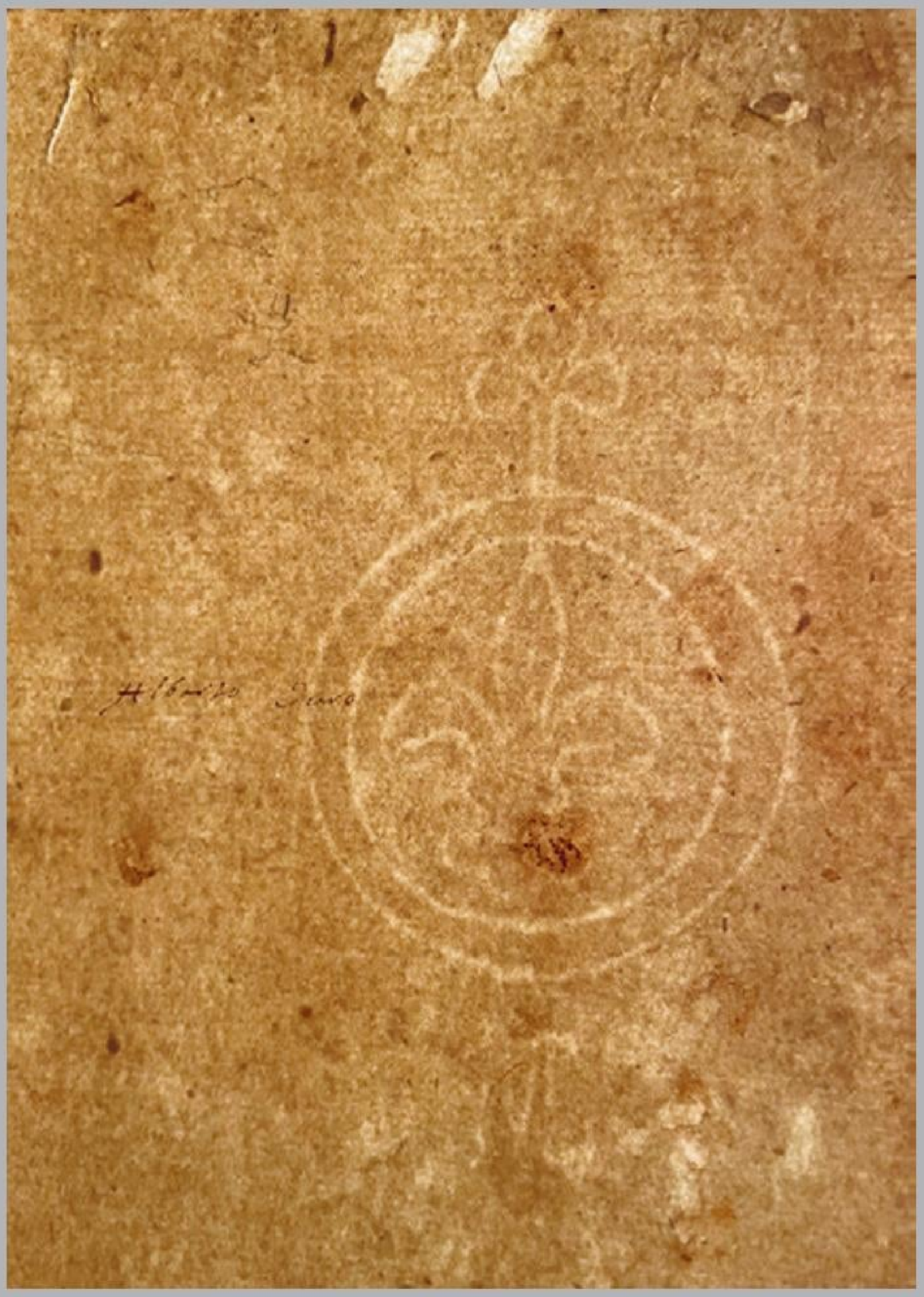

Alberto Duro

Fig. 16
Fleur-de-lis watermark in the
outermost backing sheet

Fig. 17
Backing sheet with '108'

well documented by a volume containing 228 prints by Dürer auctioned in Frankfurt in 1877, which came from the Caetani family in Rome. A 'member of the House of Caetani, who had a mission in Germany in the 16th century' had 'purchased this collection from the Dürer heirs'[8] It seems very likely that the present drawing was to be found in Modena by the late 16th century. A hypothetical source for the Modena connection is Cardinal Alessandro d'Este (1569–1624) who had built up a considerable collection of drawings, which after his death passed to Alfonso III d'Este (1591–1644), Duke of Modena and Reggio. His son Alfonso IV d'Este (1634–1662) expanded the collection to about 2,300 drawings. An inventory of the ducal collection written in 1669 lists 2,728 drawings, which were kept, among others, in 34 volumes.[9] The collection was subsequently considerably reduced or divided among heirs, because by 1751 only 462 drawings are documented, of which only two are linked with Dürer's name (nos.268, 312).[10] Unfortunately, none of the collector's marks associated with the d'Este family (Lugt 106, 112, 1893), are visible on the sheet. However, the innermost backing sheet (with the Modena inscription) shows a circular brown mark in the top left corner which could be the remnant of an embossed paper seal (see fig.14). Its diameter closely corresponds to the mark of Alfonso III (Lugt 112); indeed, documents certified by him with a pressed seal are recorded.[11]

Following the French invasion of Italy, part of the collection of the Dukes of Este entered the Louvre in 1797. Today, 1,196 drawings from this collection are held there, among them one drawing by Albrecht Dürer, the *Agony in the garden*.[12] It bears the collector's mark of Francesco II d'Este (1660–1694; Lugt 1893) in the lower right corner of the recto, and also the handwritten number 121 on the lower edge. This number refers to inventories compiled in 1796 by French art commissioners in the gallery of the Dukes of Modena. The number 108 written in a similar style on one of the backing sheets of the present drawing could have been added in this connection (fig.17). Dispersal of drawings from Modena is known to have occurred at this time because other sheets bearing d'Este collector's marks are located in the British Museum, (via William Young Ottley and Thomas Lawrence[13]) and in France in the collections of Jean-Baptiste-Florentin-Gabriel de Meryan Marquis de Lagoy, and Dominque-Vivant Denon.

This is a tentative, but not unreasonable reconstruction of the early history of the drawing, and the route it could have taken from Nuremberg via Modena to France. It is then likely to have ended up during the 19th century in the collection of Count Hubert de Pourtalès (1863–1949) who is known to have sold four Dürer drawings to Maison Carlhian, Paris, in 1919. In one case the drawing can be identified with certainty: André Carlhian, of Maison Carlhian, Paris, in partnership with Joseph Duveen, records in the Duveen stock books in October 1919 the purchase and sale of Dürer's *Woman in Netherlandish dress*, 1521, to Joseph E. Widener.[14] By the time the object was listed with an image in a record book of the late 1960s, it was mistakenly described as a print: 'Anonymous, *Madonna with child*, dry point etching, labeled (falsely) AD [Alfred Duhrer].' This does, however, account for the continued presence of the *Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* in the collection of the Carlhian family.

Agnews is extremely grateful to Dr. Christof Metzger, The Albertina Museum, Vienna, for confirming the attribution upon first-hand inspection of the drawing in Vienna in October, 2019, and for his assistance in the reconstruction of its provenance. Dr. Metzger will include this drawing in his forthcoming catalogue raisonné of the artist presently in preparation, scheduled for publication in 2022/23.

1 Not recorded by Briquet or Meder; see Piccard online DE8380-PO-21465 (documented in 1519); and see N. Janssen, *Hauptsache Dürer? Die Sammlung Klugkist*, Bremen, 2021. pp.23, figs.17–18, p.32, cat. no 2, *Seated Virgin and Child*, of *c.* 1514, inv. no. 99-1851/1.

2 See G. Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti die quadri, disegni, bronzi, dorerie, smalti, medaglie, avorii*, ecc., Modena 1870, see index for many examples.

3 An encircled fleur-de-lis both with and without accompanying letters or marks is quite common, see Briquet nos. 7104–7121; but the use of a trefoil above a circled fleur-de-lis is relatively rare, see Briquet nos. 7128–7129, used in Treasury Records between 1590 and 1596 of the Duchy of Modena and Reggio, held in the Archivio Communale of Reggio Emilia.

4 Inventory of the Estate of Cardinal Franceso Maria del Monte, Rome, Archivio di Stato, 20, Notai Capitolini, Paulus Vespignanus, ufficio 28, vol. 138, fol. 583v. See C. L. Frommel, 'Caravaggios Frühwerk und der Kardinal Francesco Maria del Monte', in: *Storia dell'Arte*, 9/109, 1971, pp.5–52, esp. p.37; M. Bury, 'Giulio Mancini and the organization of a print collection in early 17th-century Italy', in: C. Baker et al. (ed), *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c.* 1500–1750, Aldershot 2003, pp.79–84, esp. p.83 and footnote 32.

5 *Inventario delle robbe della bona memoria dell'illustrissimo Signor Cardinale Orsino*, compiled in 1633 by Filippo Albergati, Archivio Orsini, I, busta 414.1, fasc. 15. See A. Amendola, 'Collecting copper plates between Venice and Rome in the 17-th century. Cardinal Alessandro Orsini, the Old Masters and the sciences', in: *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 28/2, 2016, pp.161–173.

6 On the dispersal of Dürer's estate, see C. Metzger, *Albrecht Dürer*, (exh. cat, The Albertina Museum, Vienna) Vienna 2019, pp 51–67; and C. Metzger, 'Image and Itinerary. Dürer's Drawings from his Travels through the Netherlands', in: S. Foister and P. van den Brink (ed), *Dürer's Journeys* (exh. cat. National Gallery, London), London 2021, pp.149–63.

7 Quoted from F. C. Springell, *Connoisseur & Diplomat. The Earl of Arundel's Embassy to Germany in 1636* […], London 1963, pp.143, 240, Letter XVII (dated 5/17/1636), pp.251–52, Letter XXIV (dated 9/3/1636), Transcriptions according to the original letters in the British Museum London, Add. MSS 15970, fol. 26, 39–40.

8 *Catalog der Kupferstich-Sammlung des verstorbenen Freiherrn Carl Marschall von Bieberstein*, Auktion bei F. A. C. Prestel, Frankfurt a. M., December 1, 1877, pp.III–V, preface. See A. Griffiths, 'Early Collections of Dürer', in: *Print Quarterly*, 10, no. 4, 1993, pp.398–400.

9 See J. Bentini and P. Curti, Ducal Galleria Estense. *Disegni, Medaglie e altro. Gli inventari del 1669 e del 1751*, Modena 1990, pp.14–16. See Jadranka Bentini and Patrizia Curti, Ducal Galleria Estense.

10 Bentini and Curti 1990, pp.66–86.

11 See Alfonso d'Este, reply to a letter to Giovan Battista Ronchi, Modena, June 8, 1624: https://www.catawiki.com/en/l/22835371-alfonso-iii-d-este-autograph-reply-to-a-letter-to-giovanbattista ronchi-with-seal-1624

12 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. 18580/Strauss 1515/74.

13 See for example, the drawing by J. Bertoia, British Museum, London, inv. no. PP,2.182.

14 Today in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. 1942.9.658/Strauss 1521/23.

Albrecht Dürer and Jacob Fugger: Partner Patrons

ANGELA CAMPBELL

Often, in researching historic artists' materials, it is the literal microscopic discoveries that lead to the revelatory surprise. In the case of the drawing, *Virgin and Child with a flower seated on a grassy bench*, recently discovered in Massachusetts, the big surprise came first, followed by a collection of small details, which led to a deeper and clearer understanding of Albrecht Dürer's famously meticulous artistic practices and his relationship with Jacob Fugger the Rich (1459–1525), a patron and supporter.

In August 2019, after sitting quietly in a private collection for several years, a small pen and ink study of the *Virgin and Child with a flower seated on a grassy bench* (fig.1), bearing the telltale AD monogram, was first recognised. Despite the exceptional improbability that a monogrammed drawing by Albrecht Dürer could go unnoticed for any period of time, there were many characteristics of the artwork that indicated it had been drawn by Dürer and had in fact not been recorded in any recent catalogue raisonné of the artist's work. While the stylistic analysis of the artwork warrants its own investigation, this note will focus on an examination of Dürer's materials and their sources, specifically the distinctive papers he chose for his study drawings and, related by their preferential selection, the papers and matrix materials he chose for his later engravings, including his three most famous works, that have come to be known as his *Meisterstiche*: *Knight, Death, and the Devil* (1513); *Melencolia I* (1514); and *St. Jerome in his stud*y (1514).[1]

Albrecht Dürer was a prolific artist who cared deeply about materials, precision, and consistency. Evident from the earliest days of his artistic pursuits, Dürer was able to master and, in some later cases, improve the materials that were available to him to suit his preferences. The present drawing is no exception – the penned lines are fine and clear, drawn evenly, with a consistently black ink, on a smooth, laid, thin, cream-coloured paper. This particular paper was one of Dürer's favourites: he is known to have used it for at least 236 [2] drawings, the majority of which were study drawings: studies of figures; studies of forms; studies for future artworks. He used it for many of his double-sided studies of human proportion, as its fine, almost translucent quality makes it easier to trace a construction on the verso for further refinement. It would have been unusable for printing, and has never been documented in Dürer's woodcuts or engravings. What distinguishes this paper support from Dürer's other drawing papers is the watermark: a simple, squared, three-pronged trident, with a circle, or ball, beneath the forks and to the right (or left, depending on the orientation of the sheet) of the centre staff (fig.18). Its singularity is emphasised by the fact that it is not (so far) known to have been used as a drawing support by any other artist.

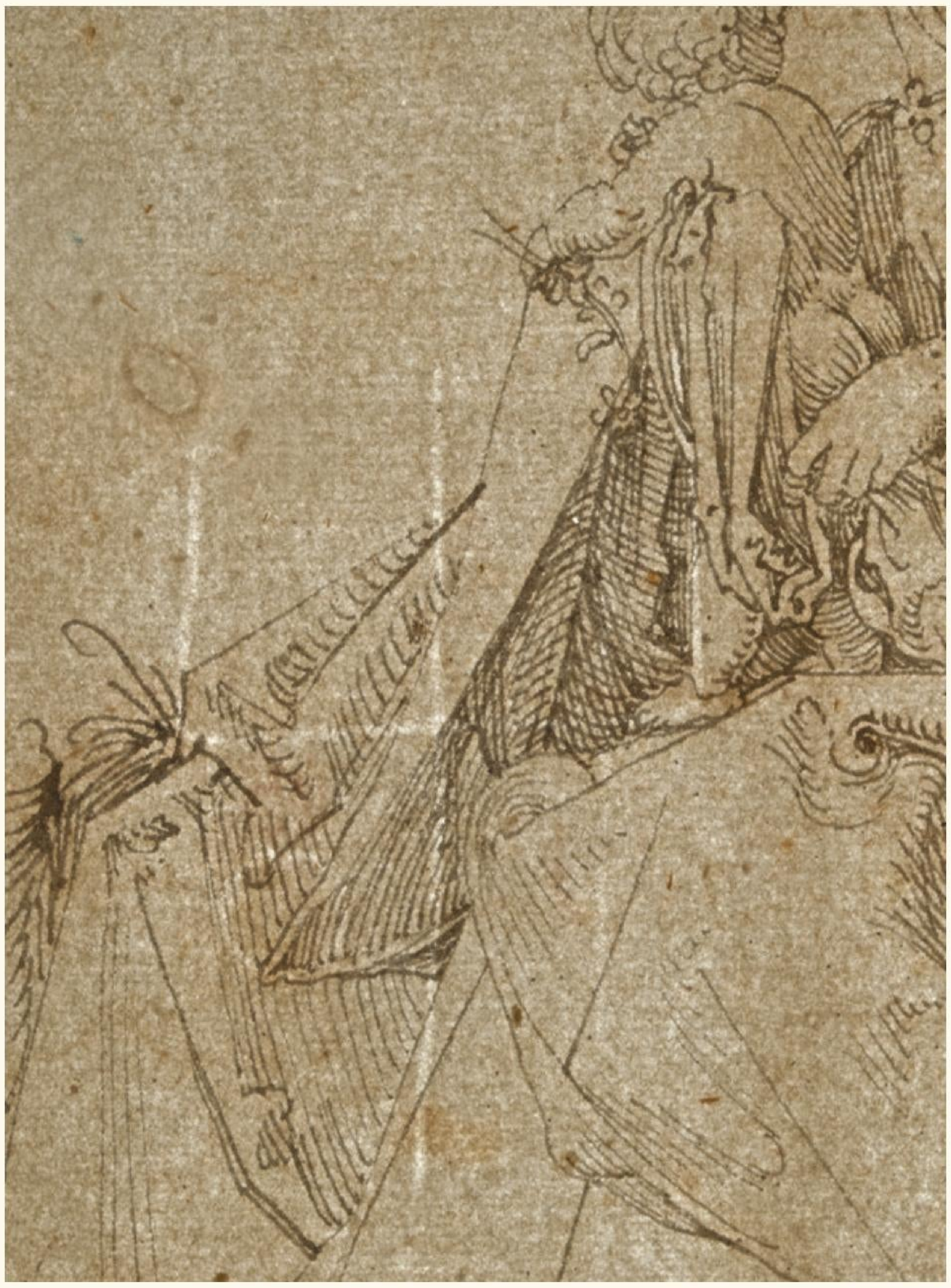


Fig.18
Enlarged detail of trident and ball watermark, as seen in the *Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* (fig.1)

DRAWING PAPER

Prior to the adoption of the Fourdrinier papermaking machine in the early 19th century, and before that, the introduction of wove paper moulds in 1757, all paper produced in Europe was made primarily of cotton and linen fibres, beaten from rags and suspended in a watery slurry, then lifted and sieved through individual, rectangular moulds to form sheets of a pre-determined size, so-called laid paper.[3] The German papermaking industry began in 1390, with Ulman Stromer's Nürnberg mill, and continued to flourish well into and beyond the 18th century.[4] The marks of a traditional laid paper include chain lines (running parallel to the shorter lengths of the mould frame), laid lines (running parallel to the longer lengths of the mould frame), and almost without exception, a watermark, created by bending copper wire into an distinguishable shape and attaching it directly to the crisscrossed chain and laid lines. As each sheet of paper is cast, the marks of the mould are impressed into the form, yielding variations in density which can be seen when the sheet is held up to the light. Each leaf of paper made from a single mould will exhibit identical markings, making the sheets mould-mates.[5]

Though the practice of comparing watermarks in prints has been a useful tool for centuries, commonly employed to identify papers produced at the same paper mill, recent technological developments that exploit advances in imaging technology now allow for highly precise automated comparison, ultimately allowing the user to identify chronological groupings of papers made on the same mould.[6] In an effort to thoroughly compare the paper support in the newly found *Virgin and Child* drawing to other trident papers used by Dürer, nine reference points were selected on the tridents, allowing for direct computational analysis on 14 watermarks borne by the following drawings: *Virgin and Child seated on a bank* (1503), British Museum (inv. no. 1846,0198.8); *The Justice of Trajan* (1500–1506), British Museum (inv. no. 1895,0915.963); *Study for the figure of Eve* (1506), British Museum (inv. no. 1846,0918.11); *Christ on the Cross, and a portrait head in profile* (1511), British Museum (inv. no. SL,5218.116); *Portrait study of Matthäus Landauer* (1511), Städel Museum (inv. no. 6951); *Virgin and Child with cradle and a bagpiper on horseback* (*c.*1512), Victoria & Albert Museum (inv. no. DYCE.362); *Constructed head of a man in profile* (*c.*1512–1513), Morgan Library & Museum (inv. no. I, 257B); *Studies of three caricature heads, drapery and dog* (1513), British Museum (inv. no. 1960,1008.2); *Virgin and Child; four heads* (1513 or 1515), Nelson-Atkins Museum (inv. no. 58-62); *Rhinoceros in profile to the left* (1515), British Museum (inv. no. SL,5218.161); *Six naked figures, in the middle a man tied to a tree* (1515), Städel Museum (inv. no. 698); *Two ornamental designs for the foot of a monstrance* (1515), British Museum (inv. no. SL,5218.142); and *St. Anthony Abbot* (1514–1519), British Museum (inv. no. SL,5218.206).

While the results of the study are not conclusive in identifying that the *Virgin and Child with a flower seated on a grassy bench* is from the same mould as any other catalogued Dürer drawing on trident paper, the overwhelming likelihood that the paper was manufactured in the same general period, and at the same paper mill as Dürer's other drawing papers, is irrefutable. Of the 14 drawings analysed, the paper that bears a watermark closest in position and structure to that borne by the Virgin and Child drawing is the support of *Six naked figures, in the middle a man tied to a tree* (1515) (fig.19), at the Städel Museum (inv. no. 698). Both watermarks exhibit equidistant spacing between the trident's prongs and the ball and, importantly, the rightmost prong in both instances is bent inward slightly, indicating that both papers were produced in a very tight timeframe and are likely mould-mates.

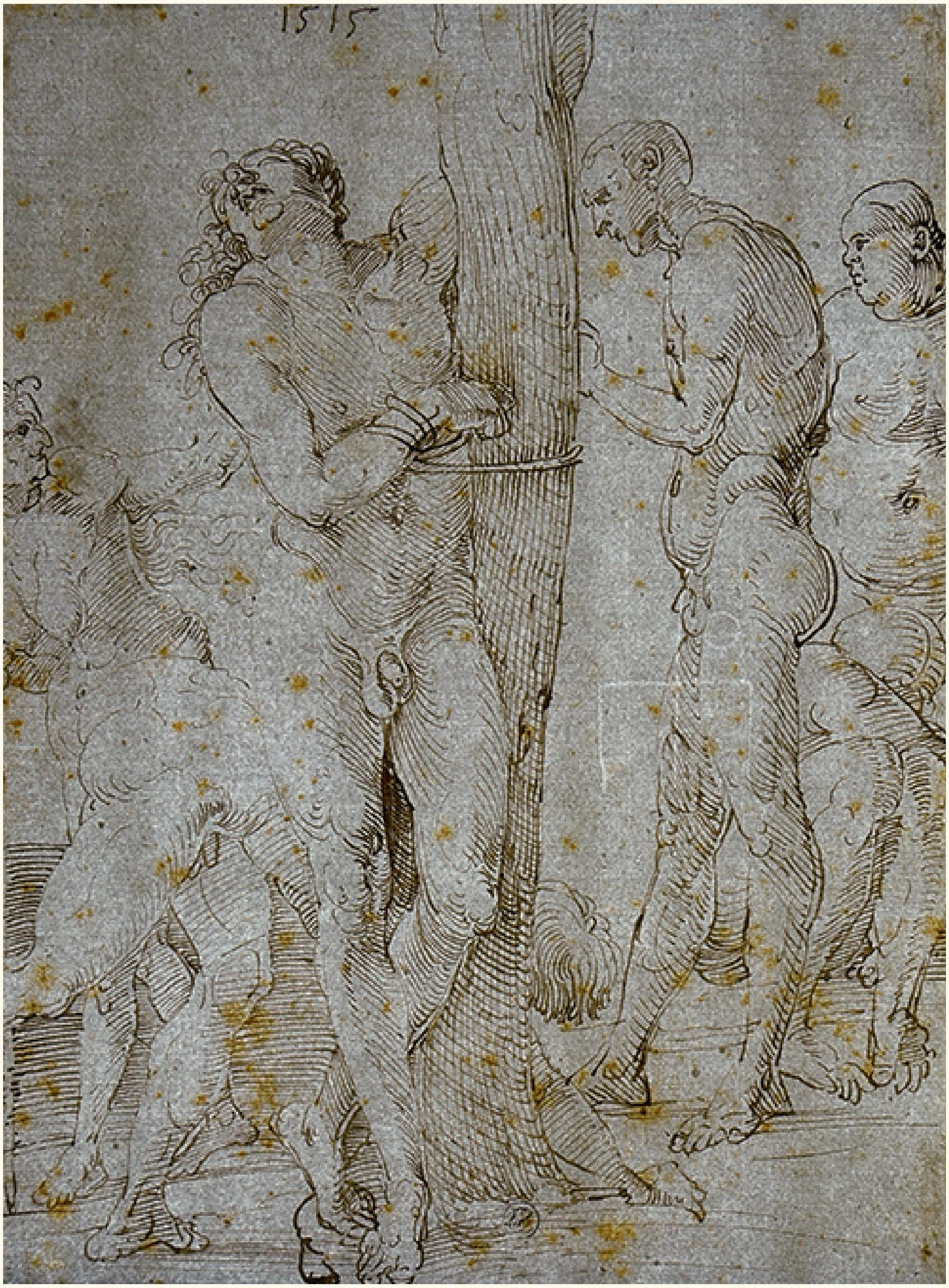


Fig.19
The trident and ball watermark in *Six naked figures, in the middle a man tied to a tree*, 1515, pen and brown ink, Städel Museum, Frankfurt, inv. no. 698

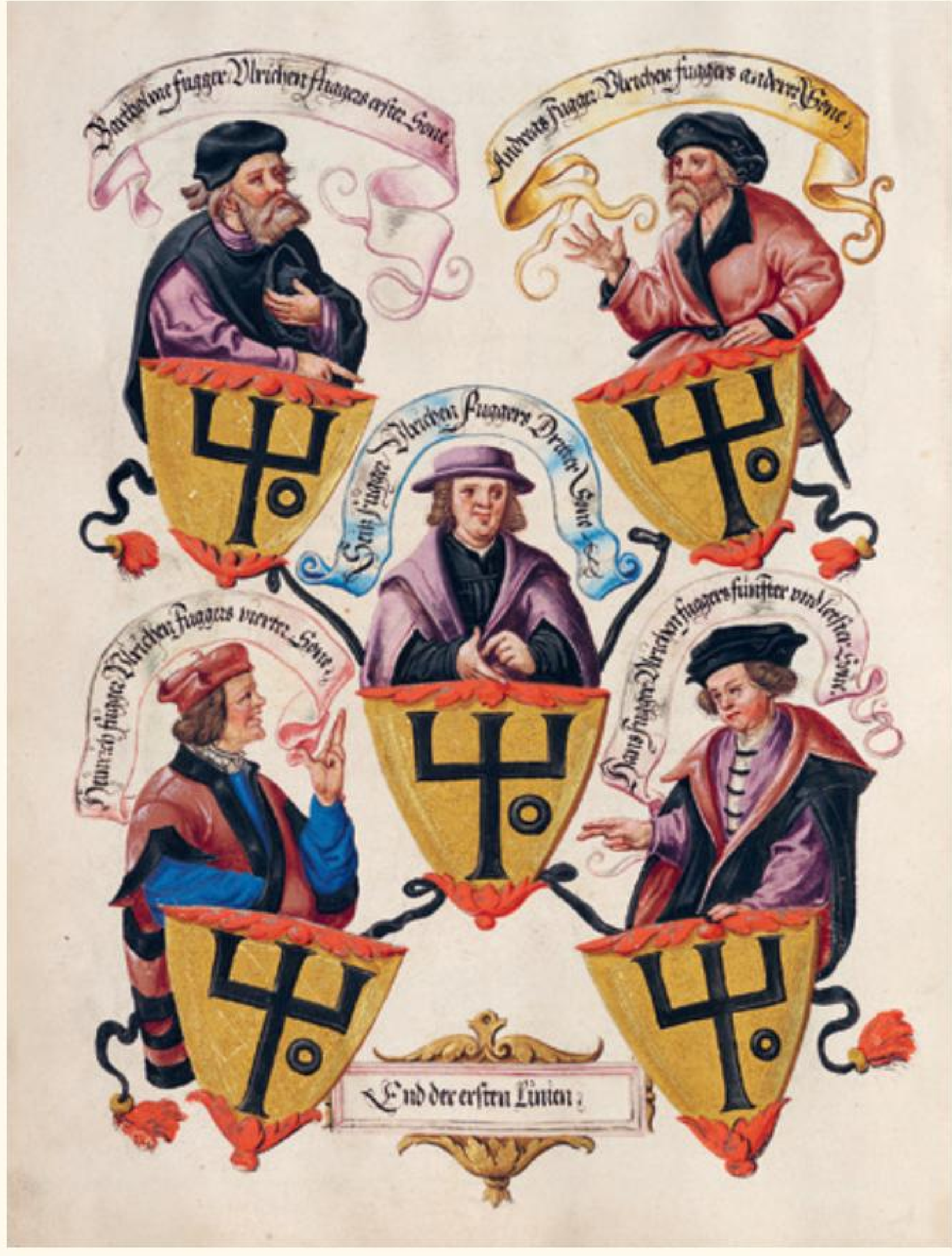


Fig.20
Fugger family tree with shields showing the trident and ball trademark, p.24 of Fugger *Ehrenbuch*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, inv. no. BSB CGM 9460

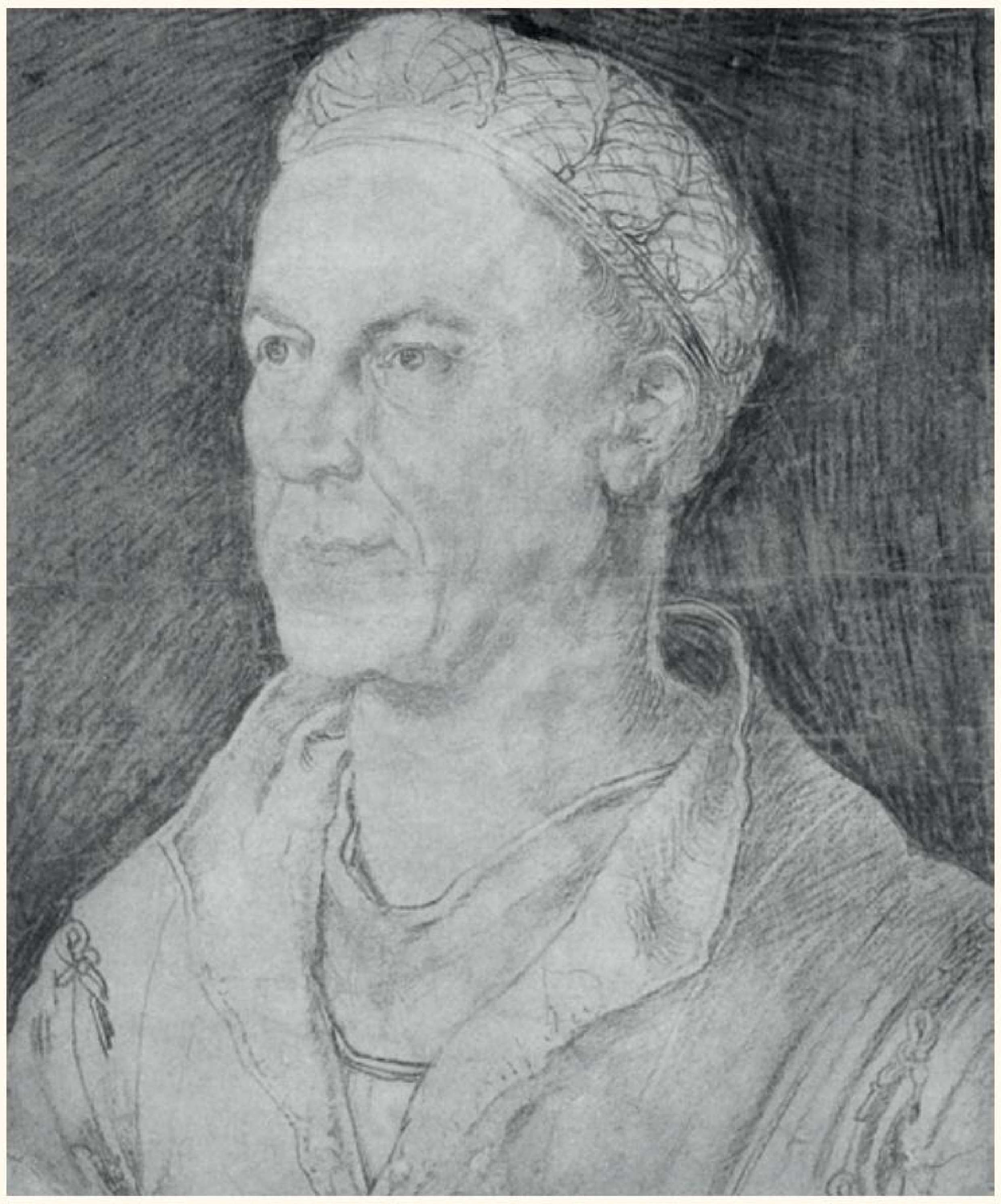


Fig.21
Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of Jacob Fugger*, 1525, charcoal, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KDZ 8465

In searching out 16th-century papers bearing a trident watermark, further details about Albrecht Dürer's material selections and professional relationships came to light. It is noteworthy that of the 237 sheets of paper known to bear a trident and ball watermark, 235 sheets are listed in drawings recorded by Strauss, *the Virgin and Child, with flower, on a grassy bench* is another one, and one is recorded in a document of 1519 in the Ulm Stadtarchiv, listed in Piccard-Online, the extensive watermark database, as a 'Fugger Watermark'.[7] The signature trademark (distinct from the family coat of arms, which incorporates a stylised lily)[8] is documented notably in the Fugger *Ehrenbuch*, which illustrates a family tree with members of the Fugger family bearing escutcheons displaying the trident and ball trademark,[9] an early form of a logo that was placed on wares as proof of origin. The fifth page of the book clearly associates Jacob Fugger, of the noble Fugger family of the Imperial Free City of Augsburg, with the mark (fig.20). Albrecht Dürer's and Jacob Fugger's professional relationship is well known; the most obvious proof can be found in Dürer's portraits of the consummate magnate, including the black chalk drawing of 1525, which now resides in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin[10] (fig.21). It would seem that Dürer was provided with a large quantity of the high quality trident paper in or soon after 1500; although his first documented contact with the Fugger family are recorded for the period around 1510, in the course of planning the family chapel at St. Anne's in Augsburg.

Jacob Fugger, who was born the common grandson of a peasant in 1459, died as a member of the European nobility in 1525, and was arguably the richest man who ever lived. He made his fortune in mining and banking, but inherited his early wealth from his father and grandfather through their success in the textile trade. Though textiles were not Jacob Fugger's main source of income, he kept the business profitable.[11] It would stand to reason that Fugger, a master of efficiencies, would own and/or operate a paper mill, making full and exhaustive use of the textiles he traded, and would naturally mark his papers with the family trademark. However, it has been suggested by Dr. Christof Metzger that the paper is likely to have originated in the famous Augsburg paper mill of Hans Oesterreicher (*c.*1445–around 1507). The owner was also a fabric merchant and thus belonged to the closest Augsburg circle of Jacob Fugger. From the 1530s onwards, the Fuggers, among many other businesses, also traded in paper produced by the Oesterreicher family, and it is reasonable to assume that the trident paper was a customised product commissioned by the Fugger trading company, and perhaps could have been used to mitigate attempts to forge official Fugger documents. Unfortunately, the Fuggerarchiv, located in Dillingen, has no record of trident-marked paper, likely due to the mass destruction of all of Jacob Fugger's records.[12] Additionally, though the archive does maintain records of three Fugger-run papermills dating to the 17th, 18th, and 19th century, scattered throughout southern Germany, none of these mills were under Fugger proprietorship until after Dürer's death in 1528, thus they could not have produced the trident paper. Other records, not at the Fuggerarchiv, indicate that Phillipp Eduard Fugger, the great-grandchild of Jacob's brother Georg, owned and operated a paper mill on the outskirts of Augsburg, along the Singold River, a tributary of the River Lech, until he sold it to the city of Augsburg in 1597.[13] If this paper mill had been in the possession of the Fugger family around 1500, it is conceivable that it could have produced the trident paper for Dürer, but no evidence has survived to prove that this was the case.

COPPER

Jacob Fugger inherited his early fortune from his family's successful ventures in the textile industry, but his extraordinary wealth was made in his precious metal mines, which extended from what is now northern Italy and Austria to Romania.[14] Though the early Fugger mines predominantly yielded silver, the family gradually expanded their interests to incorporate copper trading.[15] Both metals were used as collateral as well as for direct payment for a wide variety of investment interests, including the importation of pepper from India: Fugger copper was transported from the Alps to King Manuel I of Portugal, who dominated the pepper market in the early 16th century, and then shipped around the Cape of Good Hope to pay for the valuable spice.[16] However, not all shipping voyages were successful. In 2008, a shipwreck was discovered off the coast of Namibia and amidst the wreckage approximately 20 tons of copper ingots were found; almost all of which bore the impression of a trident with a small ball (fig. 22).[17] Understanding that Dürer used Fugger paper for his drawings invited the question of whether Dürer could have used Fugger copper for his most meticulous work: his copper plate engravings.

In late 15th- and early 16th-century northern Europe, copper plate engraving experienced what would become its defining moment.[18] Albrecht Dürer transformed a once exclusively goldsmithing tradition into an aesthetically and financially rewarding art form, the apex of which was reached in his *Meisterstiche*.[19] Dürer's engraving plates were made from beaten copper, which differs from current-day printing plates, made from rolled copper. In Dürer's lifetime, copper ingots were beaten into plate form using a hydraulically-powered hammer that could weigh as much as 500 pounds, then cut, and beaten again in a process described by Isabel Horovitz:

> *The* [preliminarily beaten] *sheets were cut with water-powered shears, and often then subjected to repeated battering in stacks.*[20] *A very high level of refinement was possible with* [these mechanised] *hammers. After a sheet was formed, it could then be smoothed by hand with a planishing hammer, which had a wide, circular, flat head, and if not too heavy, would easily flatten only the surface of the copper.*[21]

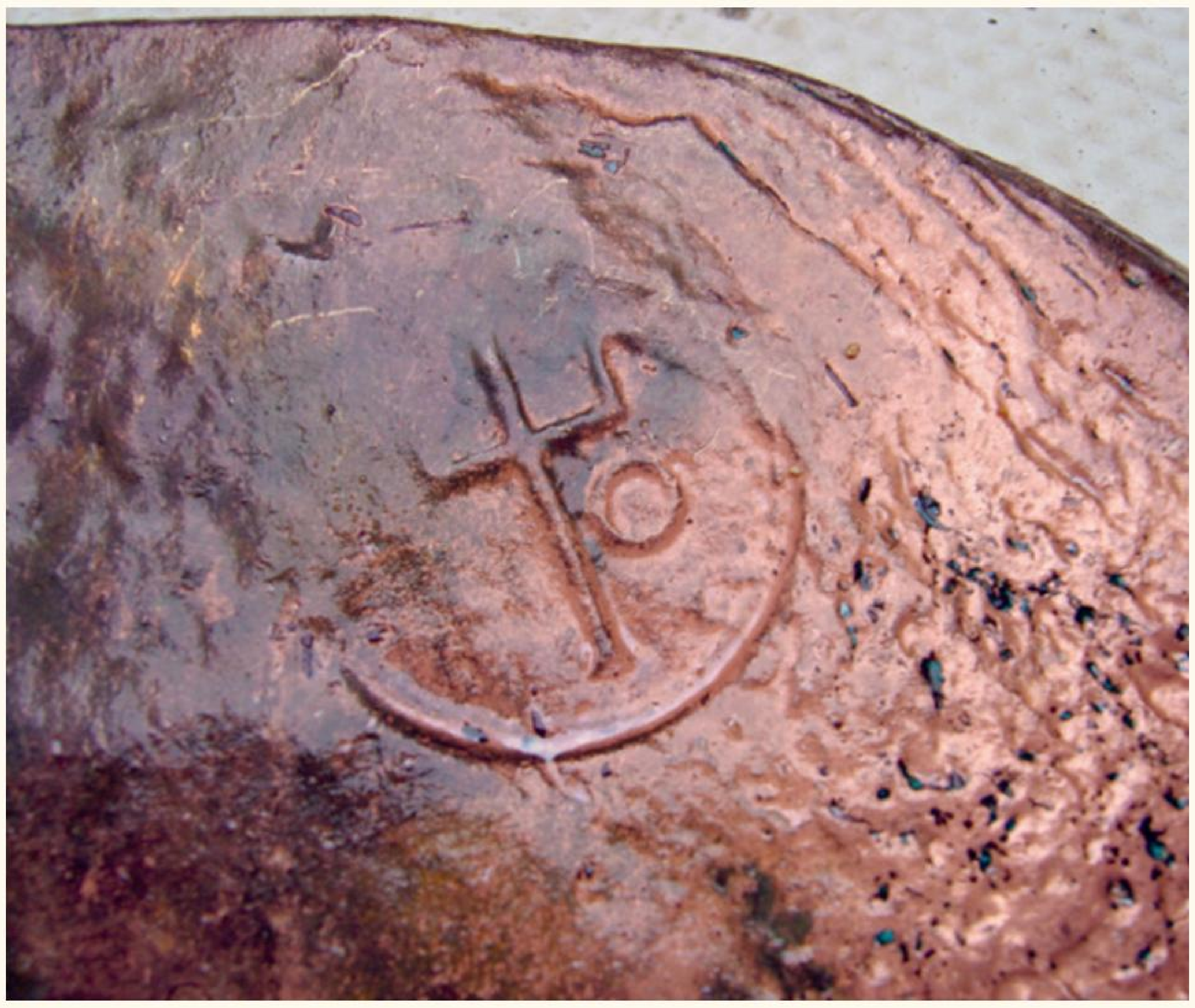


Fig. 22
Fugger copper ingot of *c.*1533 showing family trademark, from shipwreck

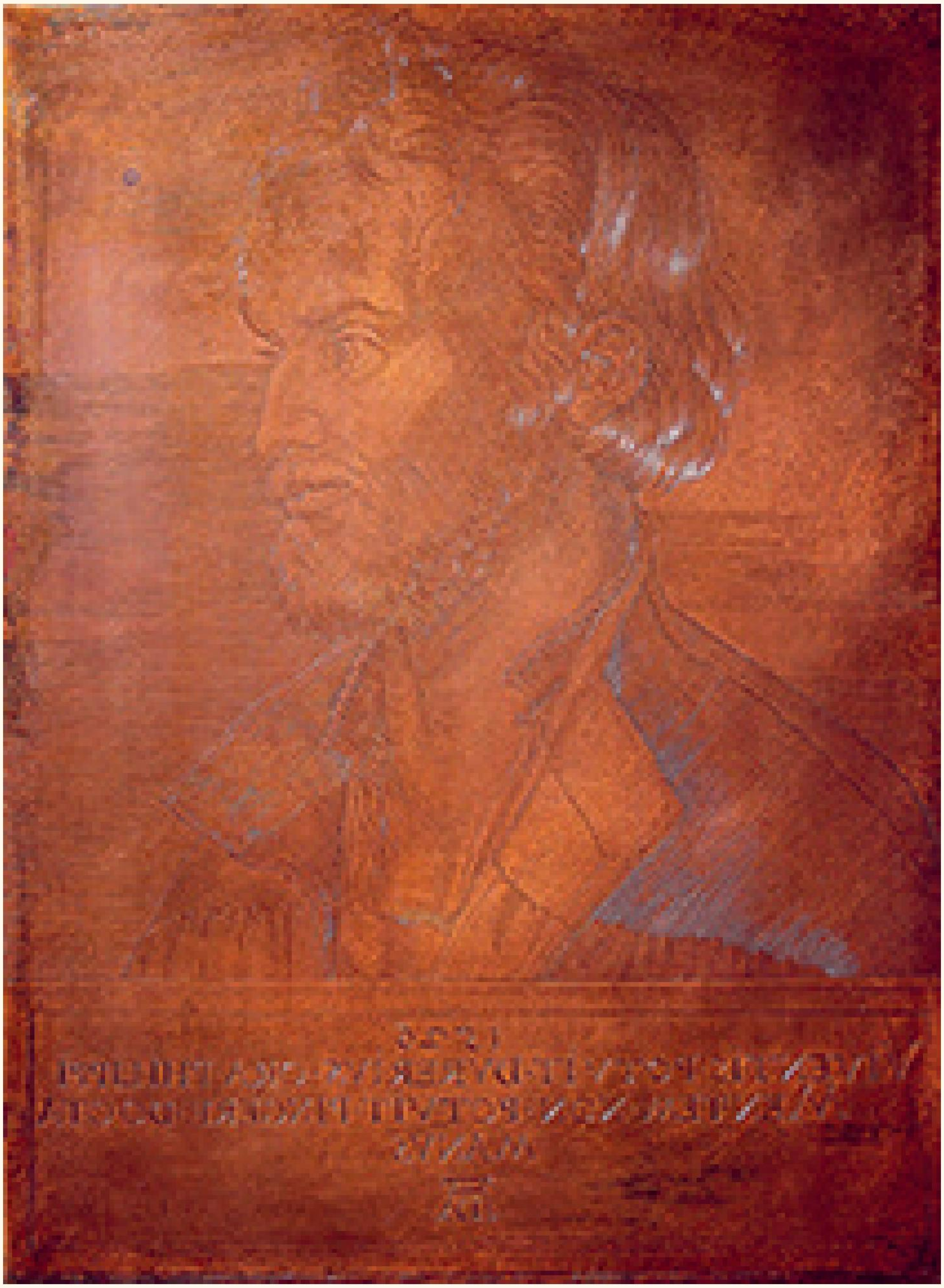


Fig.23
Albrecht Dürer, *Philipp Melanchthon*, 1526, engraved copper plate, Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha, inv. no. 8,24 A

Fugger's copper, particularly the copper from his Neusohl mine in the Kingdom of Hungary (now Slovakia) was renowned for its purity, in part due to the newly developed *Saiger*, or liquidation, process,[22] where silver inclusions are removed from the copper via the addition and subsequent removal of lead. Despite the lower melting temperature of lead, some of the softer metal would invariably remain and slightly alter the physical and chemical composition of the ingot. Though it is unclear whether the ingots from the shipwreck are chemically comparable to the sole remaining copper plate engraved by Dürer – a portrait of Philip Melanchthon – the possibility exists.

Dürer's *Philip Melanchthon* matrix (fig. 23), engraved in 1526, the year after Jacob Fugger's death, has survived almost five centuries of use and storage; in his seminal 1932 *Dürer – Katalog*, Joseph Meder references 'new prints' pulled from the plate at the Stadt Gotha Schlossmuseum, where the copper matrix now occupies its own protective enclosure (inv. no. 8,24 A).[24] The engraved image is a three-quarter profile portrayal of *Melanchthon* with a Latin inscription that reads 'Dürer can picture the features of the living Philip but lacks the skill to depict his mind.' [25] The plate itself is thin and somewhat curved and marks of the beating process are visible on the verso. The relevancy of the manufacturing process outlined above to Dürer's plates is twofold. First, beaten copper is omnidirectional and therefore easier to incise, since the burin will not travel more easily in one direction on the matrix than another. Second, despite the fact that a beaten plate, annealed to reduce the internal stresses incurred during the beating process, is naturally denser and harder than a rolled plate, the 16th-century copper used for the *Melanchthon* plate, and earlier, his *Meisterstiche* plates, likely contained a small percentage of residual lead, after undergoing the *Saiger* process, which could render them somewhat softer than what one would expect to find in a rolled copper plate produced today. In analysis carried out using X-ray fluorescence on later 16th-century copper matrices engraved by Georg Pencz, a printmaker who was undoubtedly influenced by Dürer's engraving processes, clear evidence of lead was present, confirming this hypothesis.[26]

Dürer's extraordinary capacity to depict curvilinear and irregular forms like delicate curls of hair and complex folds of fabric relied heavily on the lack of grain direction and softer amalgamates in such beaten plates. It is unquestionable that Dürer would want to procure the highest-quality copper for the matrices that were to become his masterpieces. Though strict rules regulated local copper trade in Nuremberg, it is possible that access to such copper, comprised of elementally precise ratios, was enabled by Dürer's existing links to Fugger. Dürer's earliest documented use of trident paper is around 1500, indicating that by the time the artist engraved his *Meisterstiche*, and subsequently *Philip Melanchthon*, a working relationship between Jacob Fugger and Albrecht Dürer had been well established.

MEISTERSTICHE PAPER

In assessing Dürer's demonstrable use of Fugger's paper for his study drawings and the possible influence of Fugger copper on his engraving matrices, it is plausible that Dürer was as closely tied to his patron as he was to his materials. By 1513, he was about to reach his artistic apex with his three most renowned engravings: *Knight, Death, and the Devil*, 1513 (fig. 24), *Melencolia I*, 1514 (fig. 25), and *St. Jerome in his Study*, 1514 (fig. 26). He anticipated the success of his *Meisterstiche* and poured all of his resources, creative and financial, into the design and execution of three engravings. The copper plates he used were some of his largest, the engraved lines were without question his most masterful, and the paper he selected for the impressions was unlike any of the papers he used elsewhere in his oeuvre: they were custom-made, without watermarks. To put this in perspective, almost all 15th- and 16th-century European papers were manufactured with a watermark. In the same way that the copper ingots and the drawing papers bore the trident and ball trademark to clearly identify both as Fugger products, a paper mill would include its own company trademark in the manufactured sheets; the mark would have been a source of both identity and pride for the mill's owner. To request, for any reason, that a papermaker relinquish association with his own product, let alone one that was selected for its superior quality, was otherwise unheard of. Only an artist with abundant influence and financial backing could garner such compliance.

Dürer was nothing if not consistent in his artistic preferences: clarity and form were paramount in his designs; high quality and consistency were imperative in his selection of materials. In 140 *Meisterstiche* impressions examined for a recent study,[27] the papers invariably exhibited chain lines spaced about 30 mm apart, always running horizontally through the images, and all but five were without a watermark.[28] The papers have changed colour with age and in reflection of various storage conditions, but it is clear that Dürer preferentially selected paper that was cream-coloured, supple, and a heavier weight than the trident paper. The vast majority of surviving *Meisterstiche* sheets have margins that have been aggressively trimmed to within a quarter inch of the printed line, an unfortunate tendency of collectors needing to fit the prints into extant albums, which makes identifying watermarks particularly difficult. But the sheets are large enough so that if the paper had been watermarked, evidence of the mark would be visible within the printed area of an impression. Even in the few impressions that exist with larger margins, there is no trace of a watermark. The five *Meisterstiche* impressions that did bear watermarks were all late, likely posthumous impressions.[29]

Without a watermark, it is all but impossible to know where the *Meisterstiche* paper was made. Though a promising field of future investigation into Dürer's papers is suggested by recent work implementing software to assist in analysing the laid and chain lines evident in early modern papers,[30] that method of analysis is not yet available. It is clear, however, that Dürer purchased custom-made papers for his *Meisterstiche* impressions, either directly with his own influence and financial resources or possibly through the clout and capital of his wealthiest patron, Jacob Fugger.

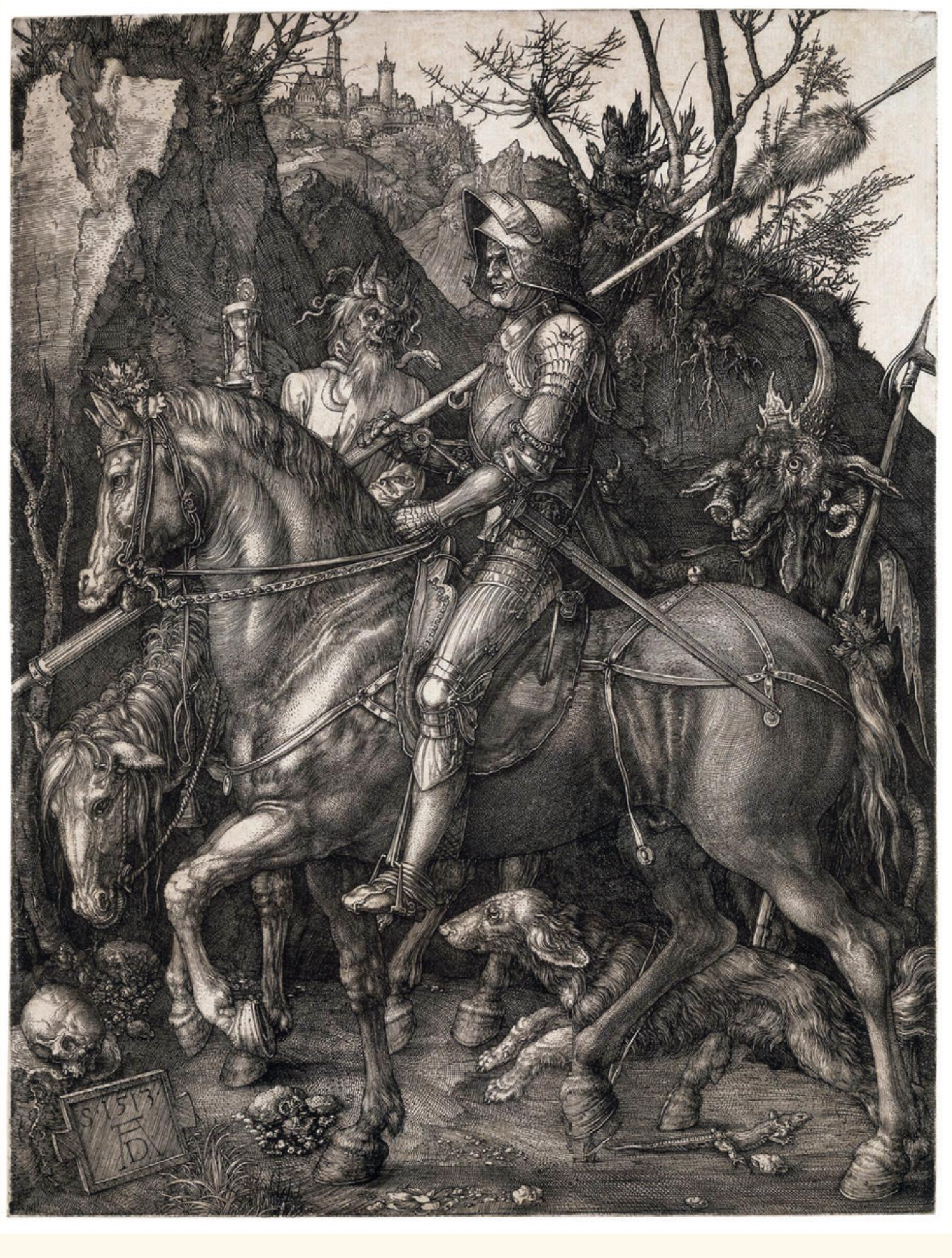


Fig. 24
Albrecht Dürer, *Knight, Death and the Devil*, 1513, engraving, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1868,0822.198

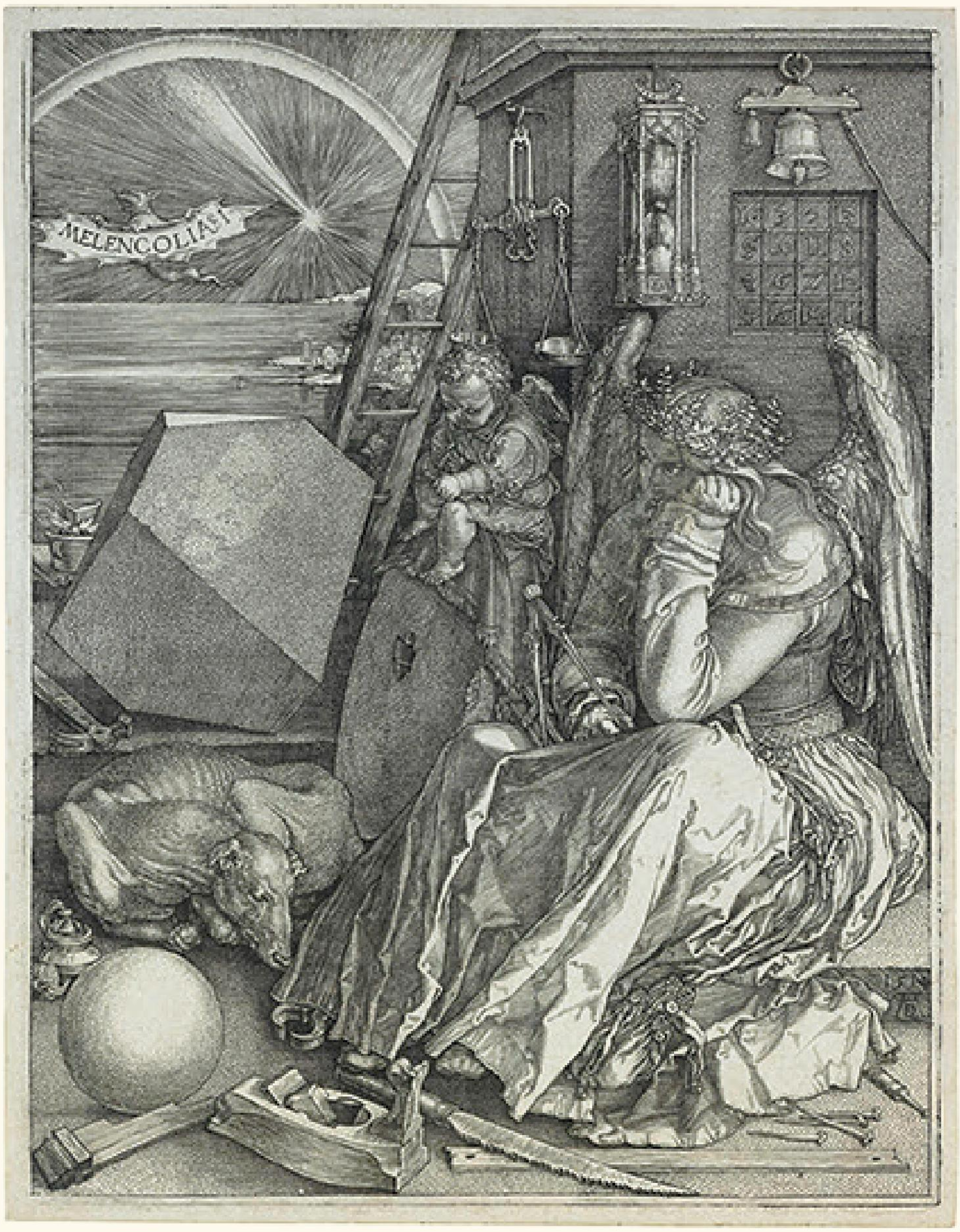

MELENCOLIA I

Fig.25
Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I*,
1514, engraving, British Museum,
London, inv. no. 1912,1220.2

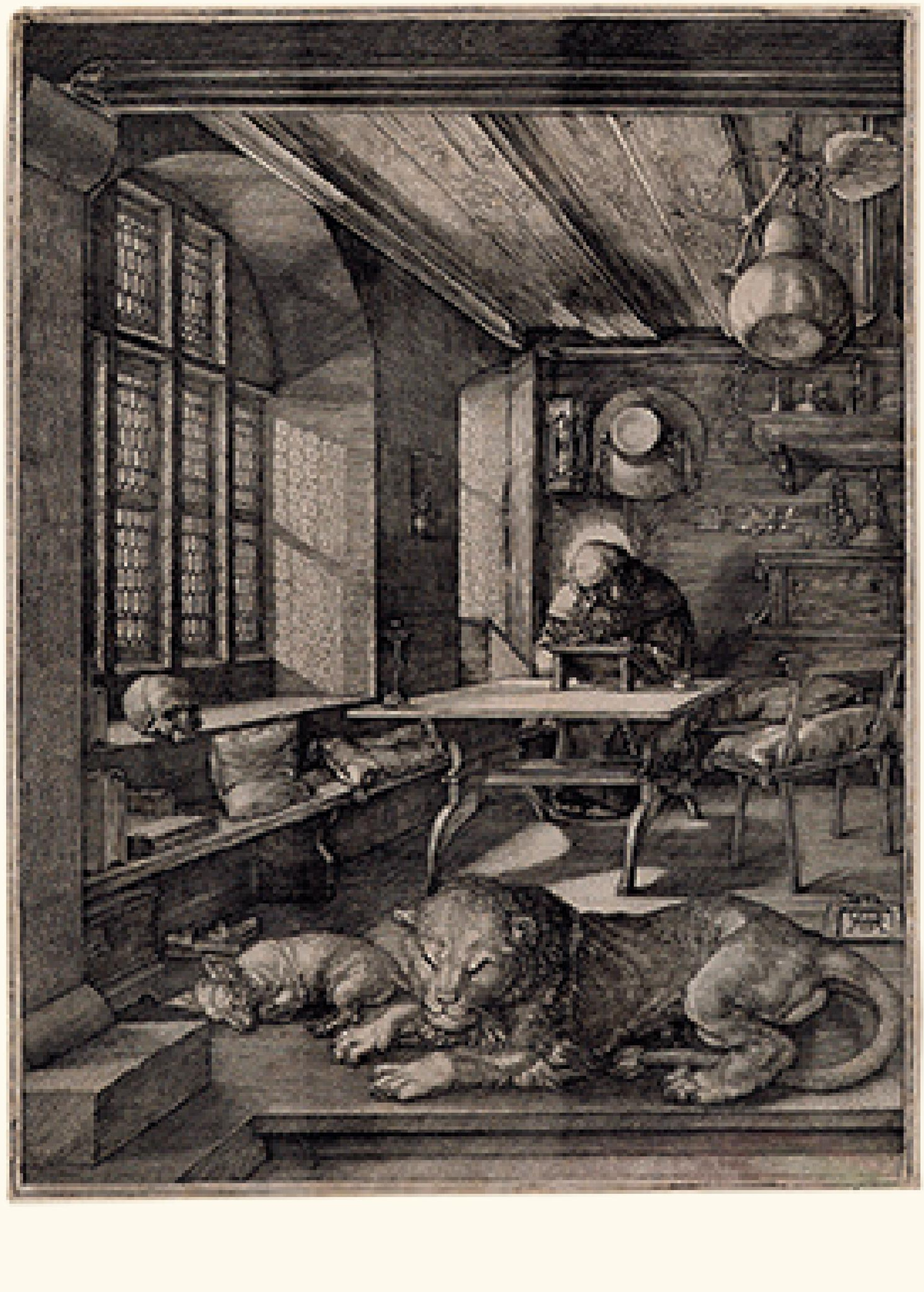
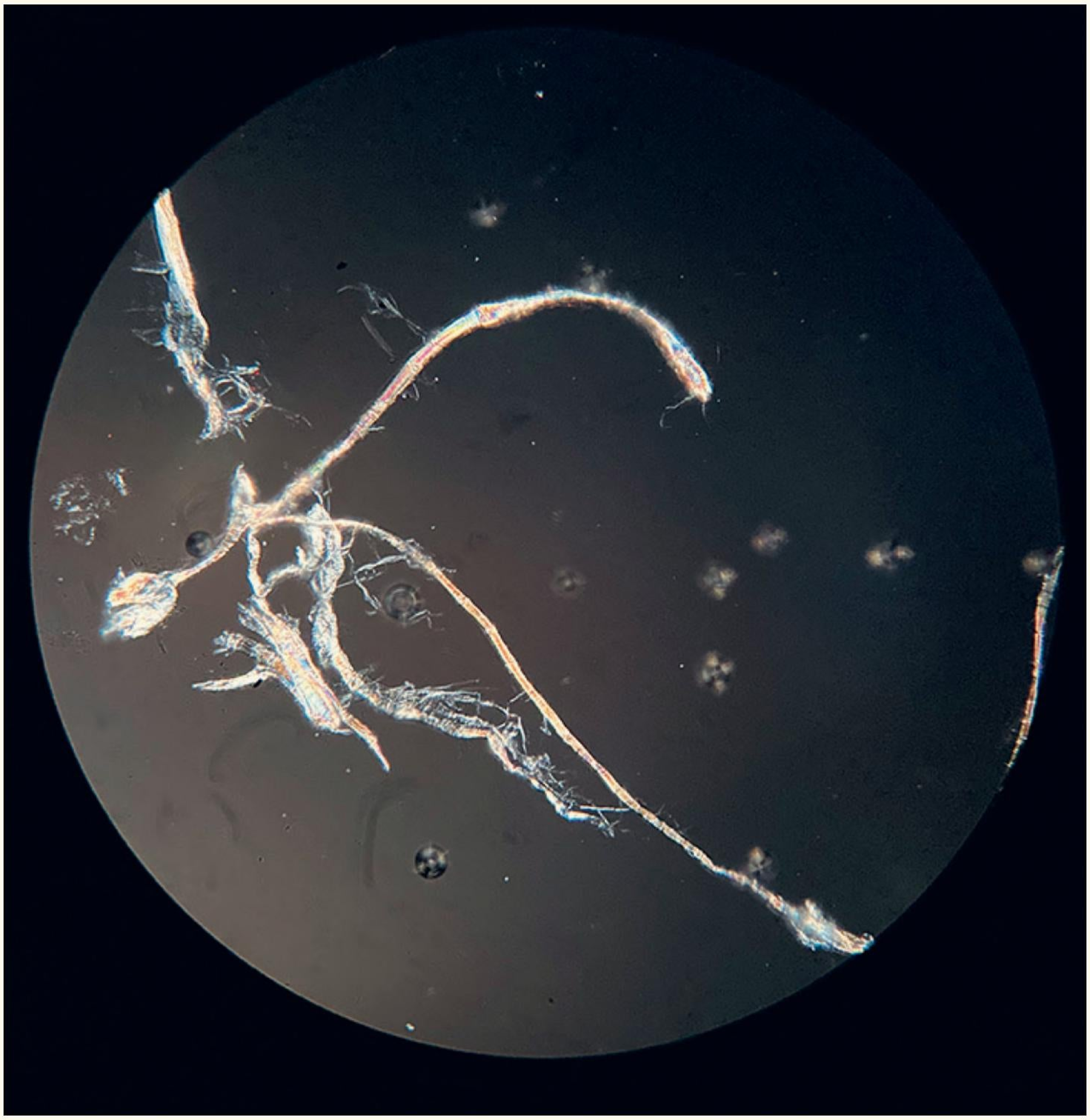


Fig. 26
Albrecht Dürer, *St Jerome in his study*, 1514, engraving, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1868,0822.185

One of the reasons a drawing like the *Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* can lie in hiding for decades, only to be identified by a keen eye and a chance encounter, is due to the remarkably high quality of its components. It is clear to even the most casual observer that the paper is fine and well-made and the drawn lines are fluid and familiar. Under microscopic analysis, the superior quality of the paper is even more apparent. The image below, captured at ~400x magnification, reveals the extremely long and fine linen fibres that make up the paper support; it is the interweaving of these fibres that give the paper its extraordinary strength despite its delicacy.

For the duration of his artistic career, Albrecht Dürer sought the best: in his own artistic capacity; in early teachers and lifelong supporters; and in his materials. Jacob Fugger demanded the same. His immodest, accurate epitaph reads 'second to none in the acquisition of wealth … as he was comparable to none in life, so after death he is not to be numbered among the mortal.'[31] The two men, pre-eminent in their respective fields, diverged in their callings, but came together to support one another's ambitions, undoubtedly enhancing the impact each had on the world.



Linen fiber sample, extracted from the verso of the *Virgin and Child*, mounted in Meltmount and captured at ~400x magnification

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1 *Knight Death and the Devil*, Meder 74, *Melencolia I,* Meder 75, *St. Jerome in his Study*, Meder 59.

2 Not recorded by Briquet or Meder; Piccard online DE8380-PO-21465 (documented in 1519;); Strauss pp.3289–93; not in Briquet or Meder and for a recent addition, see N. Janssen, *Hauptsache Dürer? Die Sammlung Klugkist*, Kunsthalle Bremen, 2021, p.23, figs.17–18, p.32, cat. no. 2, Albrecht Dürer, *Seated Virgin and Child*, 1514, inv. no. 1851/1Z.

3 C. A. Baker, 'The Wove Paper in John Baskerville's Virgil (1757): Made on a Cloth Covered Laid Mould', in *Papermakers Tears: Essays on the Art and Craft of Paper, Volume 1*, A. Arbor, Michigan, 2019, pp.2–44.

4 L. Sporhan-Krempel, *Vom Papier und seiner Verarbeitung in alter und neuer Zeit*, München: Papiertechnische Stiftung, 1959, p.11.

5 W.A. Sethares, C.R. Johnson and M. H. Ellis, 'Computational Watermark Enhancement in Leonardo's Codex Leicester', in *Journal of American Institute of Conservation* 59 (2), 2020, pp.87–96.

6 A. Campbell, C. R. Johnson, R. Lian, W. A. Sethares, 'Across the Ocean, Under the See', 2021 IPH Congress Post Prints.

7 Piccard online https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/wzis/struktur.php?ref=DE8370-PO-21465.

8 M. Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg*, Charlottesville, 2012, p.19.

9 Munich, Bayerische Staatsammlungen, (inv. no. BSB CGM 9460).

10 *Portrait of Jakob Fugger*,1525, black chalk, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. no. KDZ 8465 (Strauss 1525/15).

11 G. Steinmetz, *The Richest Man Who Ever Lived*, New York, 2015, pp.xiv–xv.

12 Conveyed in correspondence with Dr. Stefan Birkle at the Fuggerarchiv.

13 F. v. Hössle, 'Untere Papiermühle an der Sinkel', in Der Papierfabrikant 156 (11), 1926.

14 M. Häberlein, 2012, pp.39–43.

15 *Ibid.*, p.37.

16 *Ibid.*, pp.51–52.

17 A. Hauptmann, et al., 'The Shipwreck of 'Bom Jesus', AD 1533: Fugger Copper in Namibia', in *Journal of African Archaeology* 14 (2), 2016, pp.181–207.

18 B. Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints*, New York, 2004, second edition, section 90.

19 C. Harrison, 'The Printed Picture in the Renaissance,' in *Making Renaissance Art, Vol. 1*, edited by Kim W. Woods, 211–247. New Haven, 2007, p.216.

20 *Copper Through the Ages*, Copper Development Association, 1955, p.32.

21 I. Horovitz, 'The Materials and Techniques of European Paintings on Copper Supports', in *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper 1575–1775*, New York, 1998, p.66. Though this description is furnished in the context of early modern copper supports for paintings, the method of manufacturing engraving plates was the same.

22 M. Häberlein, 2012 p.41.

23 R. F. Tylecote, *A History of Metallurgy*, London: The Metals Society, 1976, p.76.

24 Meder, p.113.

25 Meder, 104.

26 The three plates by Georg Pencz that were analysed are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York: *Virginia Killed by her Father* (inv. no. 2005.137, for Hollstein 125); *The Dream of Paris* (inv. no. 2005.98, for Hollstein 118); *Amymone Carried Away by a Sea God* (inv.no 2005.138; after Dürer, see Hollstein p.215).

27 A. Campbell, 'Finding Folds: Albrecht Dürer's *Meisterstiche* Papers', *Print Quarterly* 24, no.4 (2012), pp.405–411.

28 Dürer's apparent preference for un-watermarked sheets became clear in discussions with Tom Rassieur, John E. Andrus III Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Though Joseph Meder discusses watermarks in some of the later second-state impressions, only 6 of the 140 impressions examined bear a watermark and all were late, possibly posthumous impressions.

29 A. Campbell, 2012, p.406.

30 C. R. Johnson, et al., 'Chain Line Pattern Matching in Rembrandt's Prints,' in *Rembrandt and His Circle: Insights and Discoveries*, edited by S. Dickey, Amsterdam, 2017, pp.319–334.

31 G. Steinmetz, 2015, p.xvi.

Albrecht Dürer and the Cult of the Virgin Mary

ANGELA HASS

Endnotes edited by Giulia Bartrum, 2022

The recently discovered drawing by Albrecht Dürer, *The Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench*, *c.*1503, fits into one of the themes which most preoccupied the creative talents of Albrecht Dürer for his entire career (fig.1). His concern with representations of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child was lifelong, and second only in importance to the Passion of Christ. At first glance, this interest reflects the average Renaissance artist's response to the prevailing fascinations and commissions of the time, for the cult of the Virgin Mary was reaching its peak in Germany around 1500. Pilgrimage sites and shrines dedicated to the devotion of Mary displayed her relics at various times of the year in conjunction with the granting of major privileges and indulgences, and each prominent town in Germany had a church dedicated to her. In Nuremberg, Dürer's hometown, the Liebfrauenkirche was commissioned as early as 1349 by Emperor Charles IV, who dedicated it 'to the honour of the principal intercessor of the Holy Roman Empire, the most pure Virgin Mary'. It stood in the centre of the city, facing Nuremberg's newly established marketplace.[1]

In addition to an increasing number of carved and painted representations of the Virgin, a steadily growing supply of prints depicting her were available for sale at markets, fairs and places of pilgrimage, bearing witness to the widespread popularity of this theme within all levels of society. However, a careful investigation of Dürer's oeuvre reveals a profound and personal approach to the subject matter of the Virgin and Child. An early indication of this is seen in the signed but undated pen drawing *Virgin and Child by a tree, with a drapery study and the artist's left hand*, which is believed to have been sketched *c.* 1491–2 (fig.27).[2] It is significant in that it sets out the main tenets of Dürer's interest in the Virgin Mary. Here the Virgin is a young woman, almost a girl, devoid of regal attributes and utterly absorbed in caring for her child. The motif of the tree trunk, curving alongside Mary's body as it rises, foreshadows the famous watercolour of *c.* 1506, the *Virgin and Child with a multitude of animals*, in which flora and fauna partake in the serenely joyous harmony of mother and child (fig.10). Lastly, the group of the Virgin and Child by the tree is accompanied by two unrelated motifs, a drapery sketch to the left, and to the right the study of a left hand which appears to be the artist's. Yet, despite this haphazard combination of motifs and the changes in scale, the drawing reads as a unified composition, suggesting that the appearance of

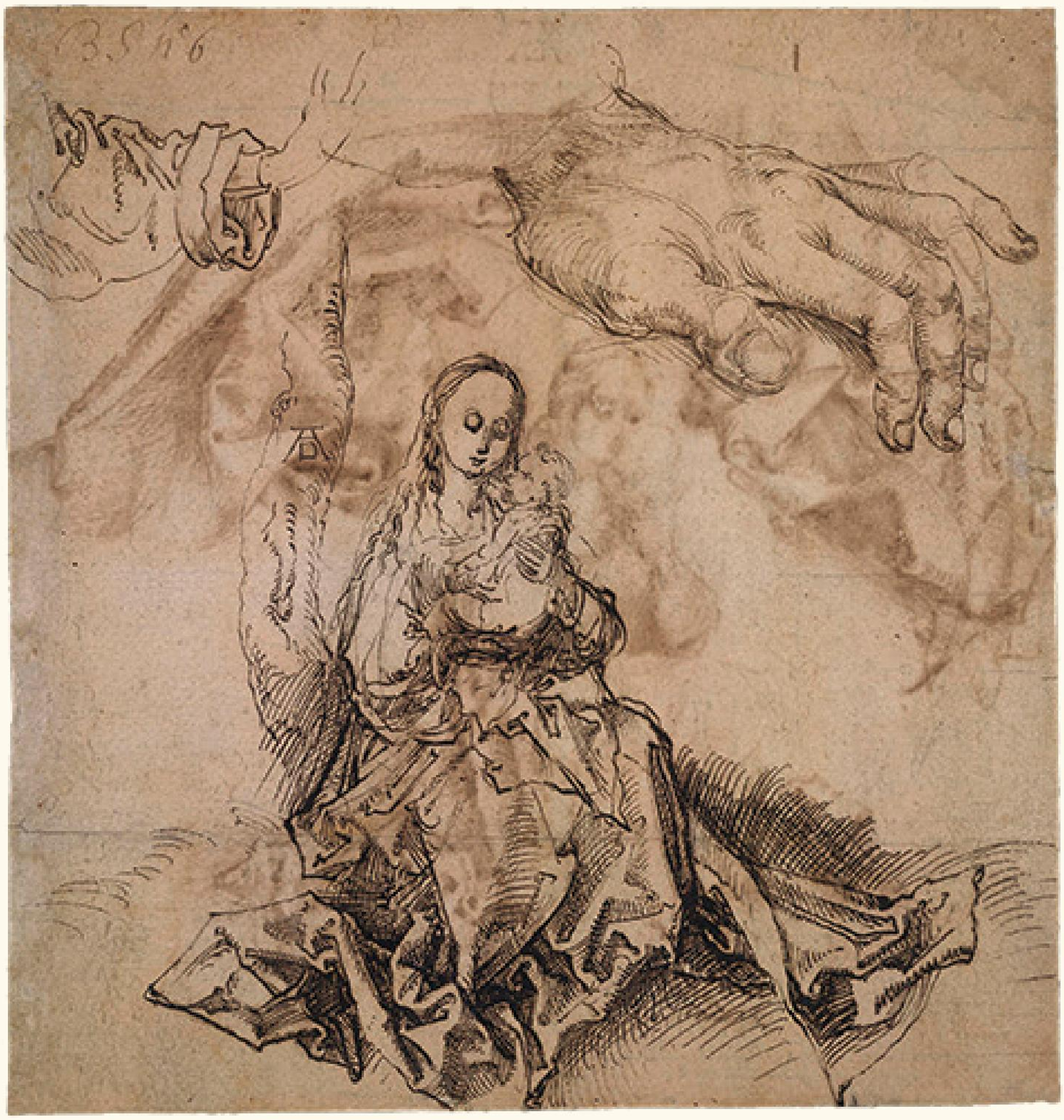


Fig.27
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child by a tree with study of artist's left hand*, *c.*1491–2, pen and brown ink, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1983,0416.2 verso

the Virgin and Child does not necessarily depend on an 'appropriate' setting, but rather constitutes a humble, all-pervasive presence.

A chronological survey of Dürer's works shows that he was continuously involved with the subject matter from this time onwards, right through to his last creative years. In addition to his *Life of the Virgin* series of woodcuts on which he worked from 1503–5 and 1510–11, 15 intaglio prints of the Virgin and Child are known and six woodcuts; about 20 paintings and over 70 drawings.[3] Several of these drawings are preparatory designs for paintings and prints; the rest consist of ad hoc sketches (sometimes combined with unrelated motifs), a small number of drawings completed in their own right, and numerous studies which explore various settings as well as the human vulnerability of the Virgin. Good examples of this last group are provided by two pen drawings dating from around 1511. One of these, *The Holy Family in a bedroom*, depicts the Virgin and Child sitting on a bed next to a cradle in a generous interior, with Joseph reading at a desk in the back of the room (fig.28). The intimacy of the setting is highly unusual, suggesting an ordinary family scene, and indeed it was only later, in the 1520s, in direct response to Reformation attitudes to Mary, that we find other

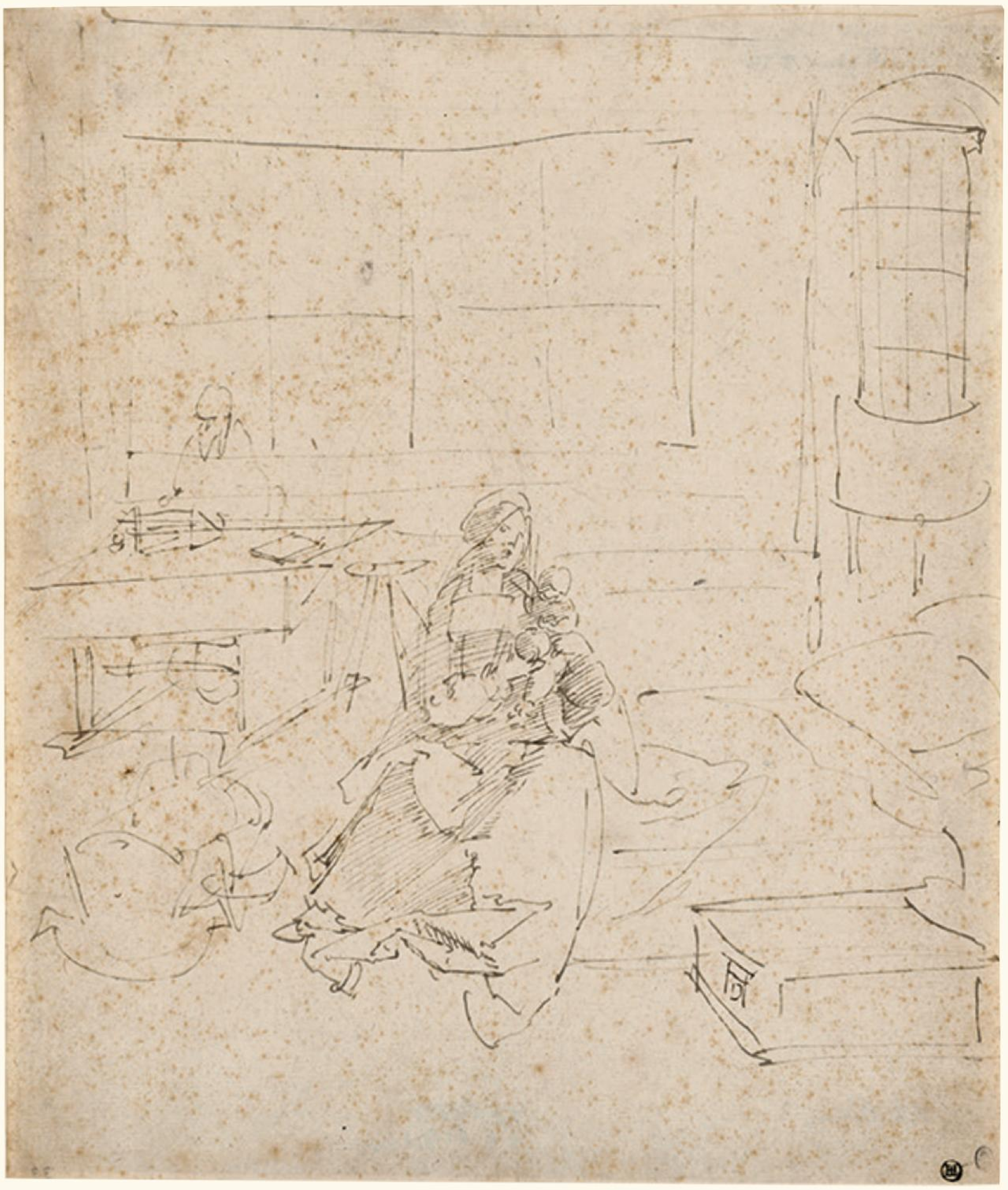
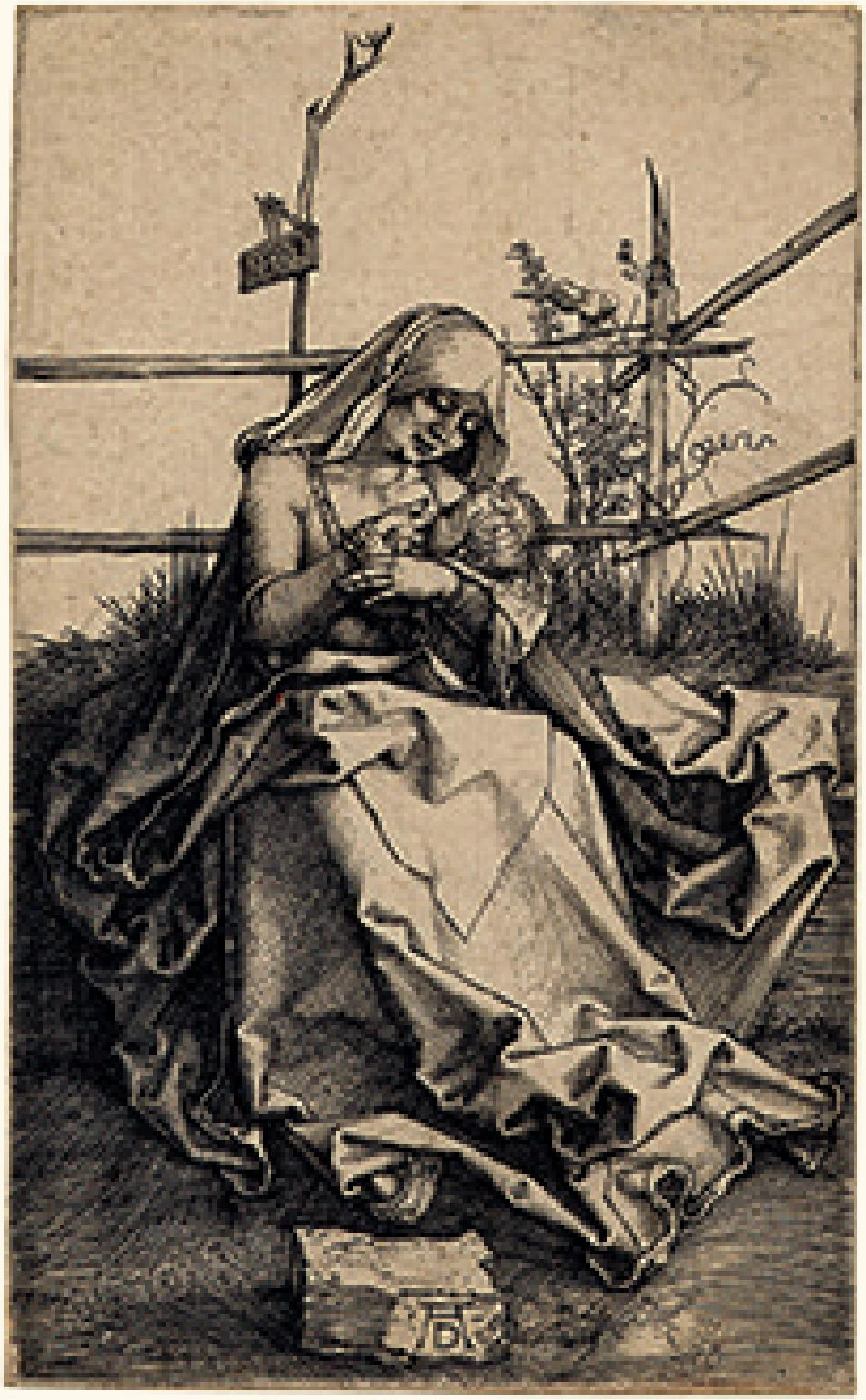
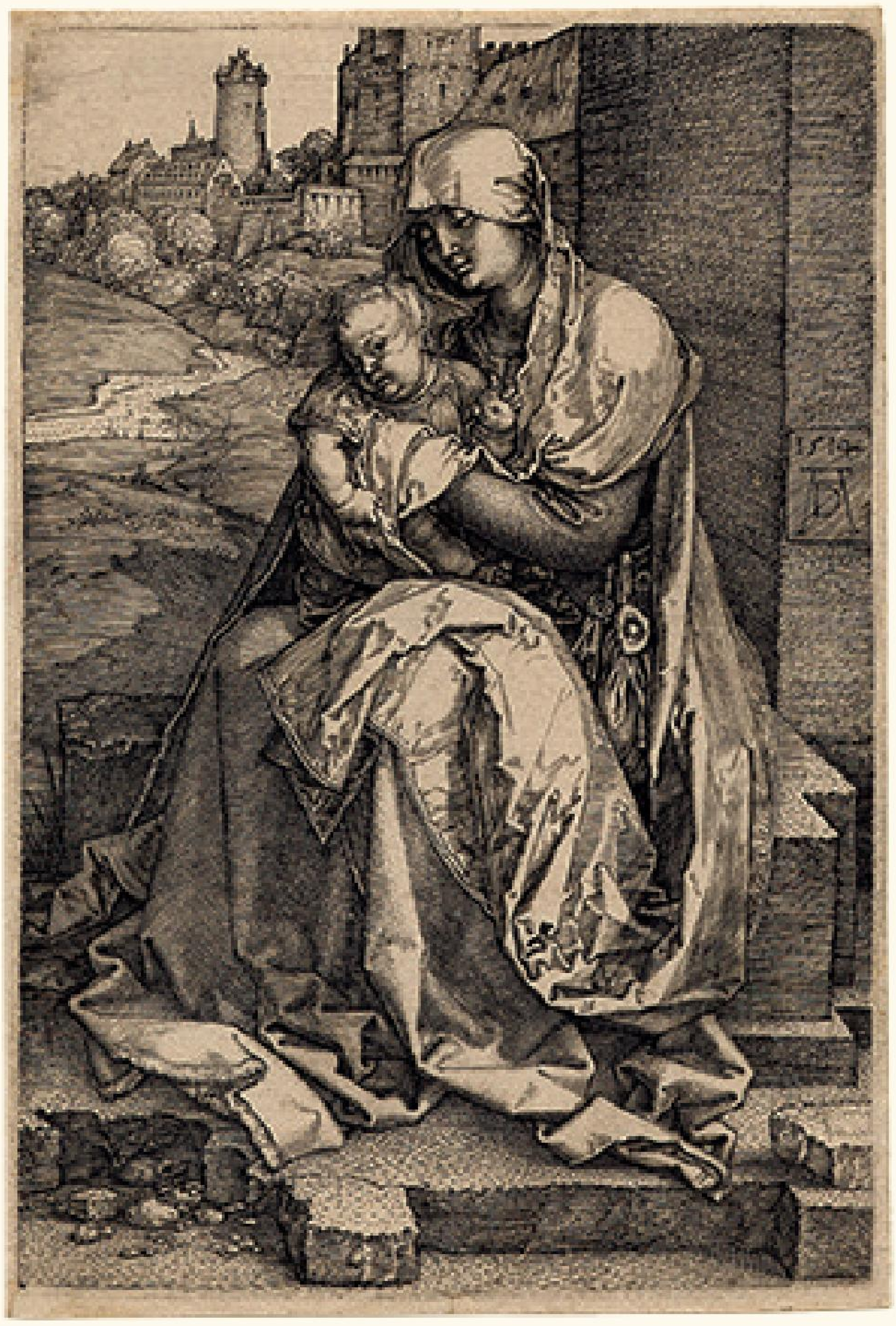


Fig. 28
Albrecht Dürer, *Holy Family in a bedroom*, 1511, pen and brown ink, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. no. HZ5484

artists beginning to formulate comparable images.[4] The other example, the pen drawing of the Virgin with two angels, explores Mary's emotional reactions. Here one of the angels is handing Mary a staff resembling a cross, causing her to shrink back, startled with sudden foreboding.[5]

However, Dürer chose not to pursue any ambiguous or emotionally unresolved scenes in his finished works; instead, the viewer is given a compositionally centralised image of the Mother and Child, fitted into a tight frame that only narrowly encompasses the generous bulk of Mary's drapery. Despite the modest size of these works, the perfectly balanced group assumes an archetypal presence, which evokes the elementary human condition. So much so, that it seems reasonable to assume that the artist's approach to this theme was conditioned by personal experience. Dürer had no children of his own, but we do know that he had a very close relationship with his mother, Barbara Dürer, who was only 19 when Albrecht, her third child, was born. In the course of the following 21 years she gave birth to another 15 children, the last in 1492. All but Dürer and two much younger brothers died. He himself described the deaths of his siblings: 'some in their childhood, others in their youth or when they were grown up.'[6]





Above: Fig.29
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child on a grassy bank*, 1503, engraving, British Museum, London, inv. no. E,4.55

Right: Fig.30
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child by the wall*, 1514, engraving, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1868,0822.176

Even if we allow for a rather more stoic 15th-century attitude to childbirth and high infant mortality rates, the experience must have left a lasting impression on Dürer, shaping his understanding of the special relationship between a mother and her child. Reading his observations on his mother, we are struck by the associations they evoke of contemplative descriptions of the Virgin Mother. Thus Dürer tells us that his mother's favourite pastime was to speak of God and praise him, that she suffered 'great poverty, scorn and derision, spiteful words, terrors and great adversity, yet she was never vindictive', but quietly continued 'her good works and acts of piety', observing her children's religious upbringing, and habitually receiving and dismissing Albrecht and his brothers with the same phrase: 'Go in the name of Christ'.[7] It is difficult to tell whether Dürer based the description of his mother on the model of the Virgin Mary, or whether the experience of his mother's attitude to life engendered in him a special affinity to the Virgin; either way we find reflections of it in his visual characterisations of the Virgin and Child. Dürer's memories were recorded in 1514, at the time of his mother's death, an event which led not only to an intense exploration of his own state of mind through the *Melencolia I* (fig.25), but also, significantly, brought about the greatest concentration of works on the subject of the Virgin and Child.[8]

A distinctive feature of Dürer's small-scale devotional images of the Virgin and Child is their seeming 'life-likeness,' made all the more apparent for a lack of dogmatically religious attributes.[9] As in his drawing *Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench* (fig.1) his engravings follow a popular north European tradition, which shows Mary predominantly seated outdoors on a bench, rarely ever on a throne, and never without the Christ Child. Generally, Dürer omitted the crown as well as the conventional haloes for Mother and Son, unless presenting them as a heavenly vision.[10] Usually, the Virgin wears a narrow band around her head, occasionally a wreath of roses. In contrast to earlier depictions, Mary is dressed in contemporary clothes and placed in the midst of a distinctly northern landscape.[11] Browsing through Strauss's compilation of authoritative commentaries on Dürer's intaglio prints we observe a surprising phenomenon, whereby phrases such as 'natural'; 'lifelike quality'; 'exceptional simplicity'; 'modest'; and 'unambitious in content' provide a common starting point for ultimately opposed assessments.[12] The engraved *Virgin and Child on a grassy bank* provides a good example (fig.29). Praised by Vasari as a work in which 'the artist surpassed himself', Thausing, in 1876, blamed it for being so 'natural' as to make the expression of the Virgin seem 'gaunt and elderly'; Wölfflin, in 1905, reservedly appreciated it as the 'most sensitive of the early Madonnas', while Winkler, in 1957, declared it the greatest monument 'devised in honor [sic.] of motherly activity'. Dürer's only engraved Virgin and Child to have elicited unanimous praise is the *Virgin and Child by the wall* (fig.30). In addition to some of the above mentioned this Virgin is described by Heaton (1869) as having 'the character of a good German housewife and mother', and by the often critical Panofsky as possessed of 'apparently opposed' qualities, namely 'regal, virginal, yet humble and motherly'.

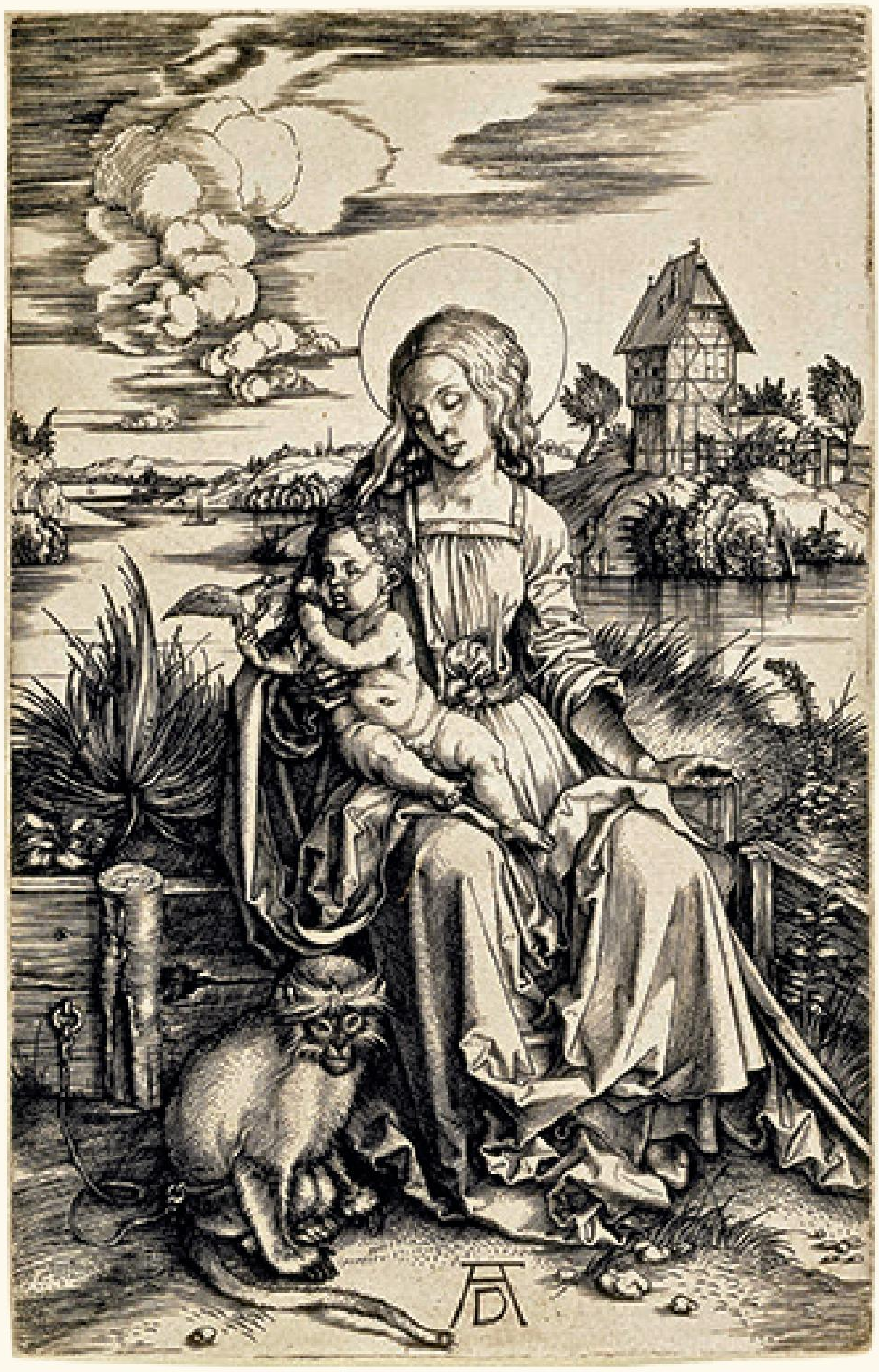
This dilemma in response to Dürer's depictions of the Virgin can also be observed in an early Italian critique. In his art theoretical treatise *L'Aretino*, published in 1557, when Mannerism was rife in Italy, Ludovico Dolce comments:

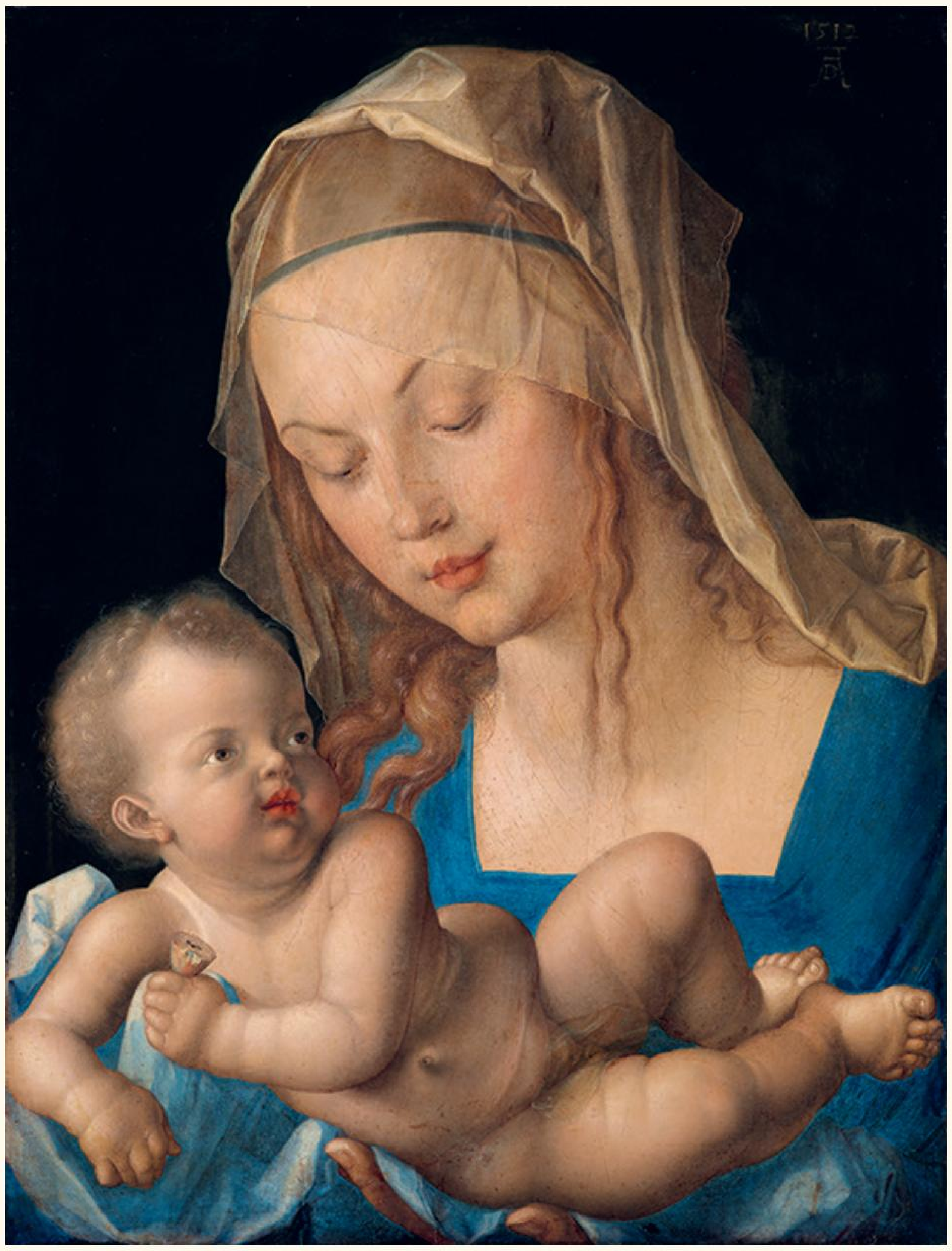
> *The intaglio of his [Dürer's] copperplate engravings would suffice to render him immortal. For this intaglio represents the reality and vitality of nature with an incomparable closeness of detail, in such a way that his creations have the look of being not drawn, but painted; and not painted, but alive.*

Yet, preceding these words, Dolce criticised in Dürer a most significant element of the 'live presence' of his figures, by stating that 'Albrecht Dürer's sense of propriety was at fault not only in the case of costumes, but also in the case of faces. Being a German, he did several compositions in which the Mother of Our Lord is given a German costume.' The artist is faulted not only for historically 'placing later in time' what ought to have come earlier, but also for creating images in specific local, that is Germanic, terms.[13] Compared with earlier German and, in particular, contemporary Italian idealised depictions of the Virgin and Child, which conformed with the dominant theological position of the time, Dürer's images were steeped in real life. Thus, the criteria determining the viewer's response depended largely upon their capacity to accommodate the artist's image within the framework of the viewer's personal ideal of the Virgin and Child; in other words, the image posed an essentially private challenge.

Notwithstanding subsequent critics, the almost immediate and frequent copying of these engravings, several of which were translated into sculptural renditions as well as stained-glass panels, informs us of their instant popularity. Much has been published on the influence of Dürer's prints both north and south of the Alps during the sixteenth century up until the Dürer Renaissance.[14] For the purposes of this article, it may be instructive to make a comparison of Dürer's devotional oeuvre with contemporary examples in Italy. In Dürer's works, especially in the mature ones, we observe a shift in emphasis towards the human nature of the Virgin and Child. In Italian Renaissance art the Christ Child is much older, and as Steinberg observes, 'engages in actions from which common babies desist.' [15] Accordingly, the Christ Child in Italian Renaissance art is presented in his own right, often detached from Mary, and placed on a ledge or a cushion, spatially and spiritually independent from his mother.

In Dürer's works the influence of this Italian iconography is most apparent in the early engraving of the *Virgin and Child with a monkey*, *c.* 1498 (fig.31), and the Virgin and Child paintings from 1506. Here we find a mature, Italianate Child, while the Virgin is for once endowed with a circular halo.[16] Dürer used the Incarnation motif frequently throughout the time of the Italian journeys, and occasionally it recurs in later works. Yet, shortly after his visits to Italy he again reverted to depicting Christ as the small and seemingly ordinary little child, vulnerable and dependent on his mother's care. This is particularly evident in the engravings, where the unity between Mother and Child had already been developed as a theme in which the Virgin uses her body and her drapery to provide the Child with a protective shield. The motif of the Virgin nursing the Child, first explored in 1503 (fig.29), was a further extension of this unity and one to which Dürer returned with fondness in later years. Two works, both dated 1512, demonstrate the ease and assuredness with which Dürer simultaneously employed these two distinct iconographic motifs: the half-length devotional painting of the *Virgin and Child with a pear* centres on the Incarnation motif as the dominant theme of the painting (fig.32). On the other hand, the large finished charcoal drawing of the half-length *Virgin suckling the Child* radiates divine motherly love (fig.33).[17] In both cases, the initiative is generated by the Child's Mother.





Above: Fig.31
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child with a monkey*, c.1498, engraving, British Museum, London, inv. no. E,4.68

Right: Fig.32
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child with a pear*, 1512, oil on panel, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 848

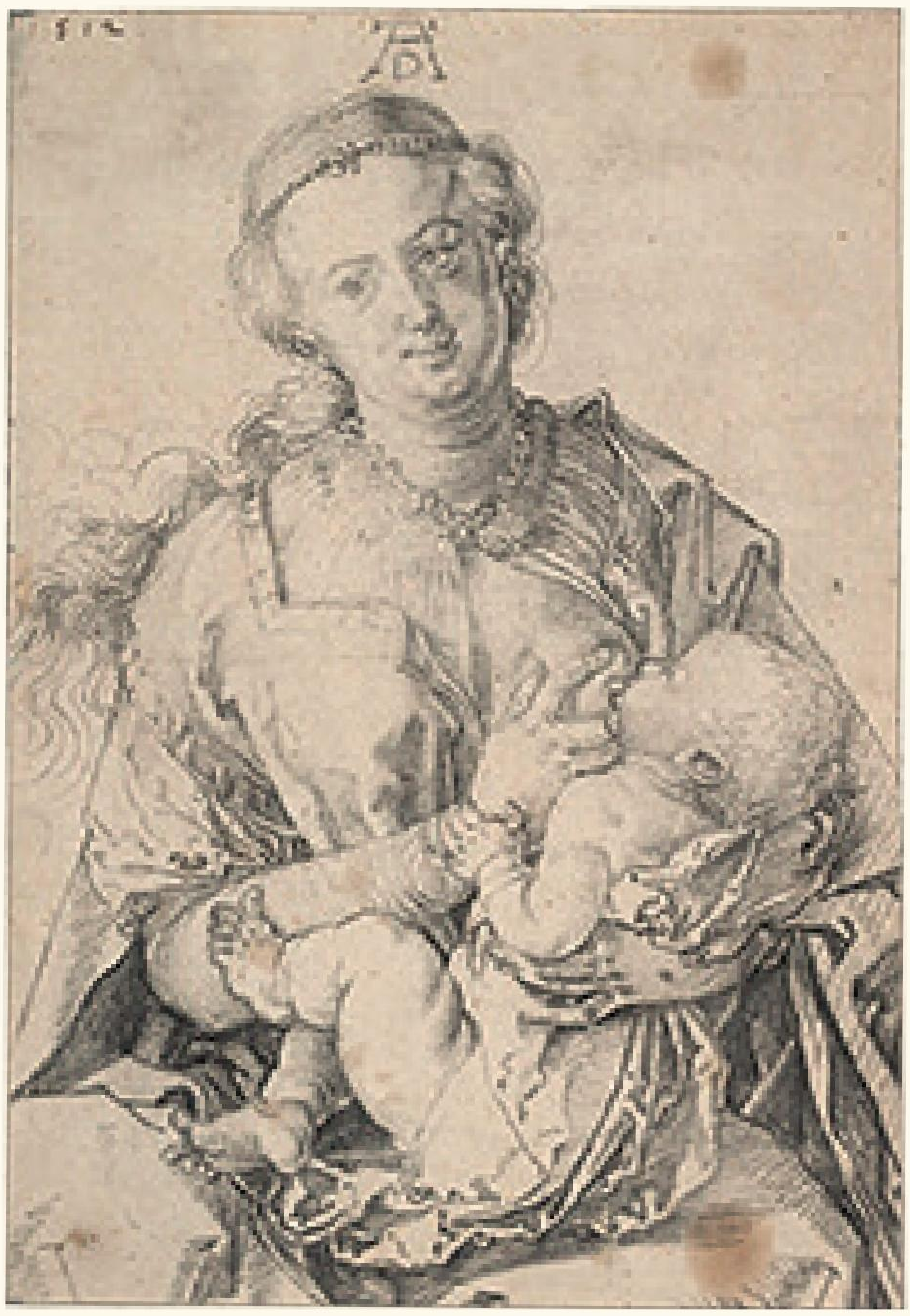


Fig.33
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin suckling the Child*, 1512, charcoal, The Albertina Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 4848

In contrast, contemporary Italian artists tended to depict the Virgin as passive, even submissive, and distinguished by regal attributes, which form part of the spatial setting, or even the architectural frame – this may include the parapet on which Christ is presented by the Virgin, and also her throne. These clues to Mary's status are supported by additional symbols, mostly flowers, or the decorations on her garment, the cloth of honour and the halo.[18] In order to fully understand the implications of these visual clues, we need to remind ourselves of the prevalent theological debates influencing Marian devotion at the time. The main issue centred on the Virgin's purity: if Mary was conceived humanly, she had to be tainted with original sin and subject to mortality. Consequently, the absolute purity of the Virgin, together with physical immortality, depended on her having been conceived free from sin, or 'immaculately.' In turn, though, this would elevate her status above that of any ordinary woman, as it combined apparently mutually exclusive feminine qualities – maidenly purity and motherly love. Around the mid-15th century the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception – promulgated chiefly by the Franciscans, and often opposed by the Dominicans – was first affirmed by the Council of Basle as reflecting an opinion in accordance with the faith of the Roman Catholic Church. 10 years later, the Sorbonne University in Paris – soon to be followed by other European universities – made the acceptance of candidates dependent on the public delivery of an oath of faith in the Immaculate Conception. By 1476, Pope Sixtus IV approved the feast of the Conception of the Immaculate Virgin Mary for the diocese of Rome, including a Mass and Office devoted to her, and in the early 1480s two bulls were issued by the Pope to silence any further disputes over the question.[19]

Apart from his work on the extensive narrative woodcut series illustrating the *Life of the Virgin* between *c.* 1503 and 1511, Dürer executed several major Marian altarpieces early in his career, which give evidence of his familiarity with current theological debates, legends and popular beliefs surrounding the Virgin Mary. In 1500, he accepted the Elector of Saxony's commission for an extensive altarpiece of the *Mater Dolorosa* and the *Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* for the palace chapel at Wittenberg.[20] In Venice, he painted the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* for the German members of the Brotherhood of the Rosary in 1506. Between 1507 and 1509, he executed the *Heller altarpiece* representing the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary for the Dominican Church at Frankfurt. We know that he resented the financially restrictive arrangements for this last work and subsequently he did not undertake major altarpiece commissions, with a few exceptions. Instead, in his religious works there is an increased output of single devotional panel paintings, alongside the continued production of devotional prints. However, while the appropriate attributes accompanied Mary's presence in the commissioned altarpieces, they tend to be avoided in the small panels. Indeed, after 1509 Dürer also substituted the landscapes in his devotional panels with uniform dark backgrounds, thus eliminating any distractions from the central figures. Mary appears as an ordinary, contemporary mother, attending to her child. The artistic freedom Dürer exercised in these presentations suggests that he painted them without prior commissions, and – as with his prints – offered them for sale once they were ready. Letters written to Jacob Heller during the work on the Heller altarpiece, and two much later entries in the *Netherlandish Notebook*, confirm this notion.[21] Thus Dürer's artistic decisions were determined firstly by his own religious and artistic convictions, and secondly by the needs of some more or less anonymous clients.

Our knowledge of Dürer's approach to Mary is largely drawn from his visual images, for neither in his journal, nor in his letters and art theoretical writings, does he broach the subject. However, some written clues survive. The following verse, written in 1510, conveys a sense of his personal beliefs regarding the Virgin's role in relation to both Christ and the devotee:

> *O thou who bore God in thy womb / Queen enthroned in highest heaven / Supreme hope of every sinner / I pray thee, through thy little Child / Jesus, who was thy creator / Make me see his Trinity.*[22]

Written a decade before Luther defined the Reformation attitude to Mary, this short verse indicates Dürer's conception of the Virgin as an inspired 'Mediatrix', endowed with the capacity to engender trust and faith in her divine Son's act of mercy and salvation, not, however, as a 'Co-Redemptrix', who could be addressed in her own right. This explains why Dürer refrained from ever presenting Mary to the devotee on her own, without Christ. A much later note – brief, but significant – confirms this reading.[23] Dated 1523, it was scribbled onto Michael Ostendorfer's woodcut depicting a scene of hysteric mass devotion before the carved figure of the Virgin at the pilgrimage site of the supposedly miraculous image of the 'Beautiful Virgin' in Regensburg during the early 1520s (fig.34). The note reads:

> *This spectre has risen in Regensburg against Holy Scripture, and, instead of being condemned, it is being tolerated by the Bishop for its temporary exploitation. May God help us not to discredit his honourable Mother in this way, but [to honour her] in Jesus Christ. Amen.*[24]

At the time this note was written, Wittenberg, under the leadership of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, had experienced the first assault on religious images during Luther's absence from the city. In addition, Karlstadt had published the first treatise urging the abolition of all religious imagery in churches in January 1522.[25] The demonstrations at Wittenberg prompted Luther's immediate return in order to prevent any further damage. He addressed the issue in March in a series of sermons, in which violent acts against religious images were condemned as strongly as their idolatrous use, concluding – as Dürer himself had done 10 years earlier – that 'images are neither this nor that, they are neither good nor bad, one can either have them, or do without them.'[26] It is up to the viewer to use them for good or for bad. The only difference in the assessment of the two is that Dürer was wholly convinced that images of quality cannot but do good, because they are divinely

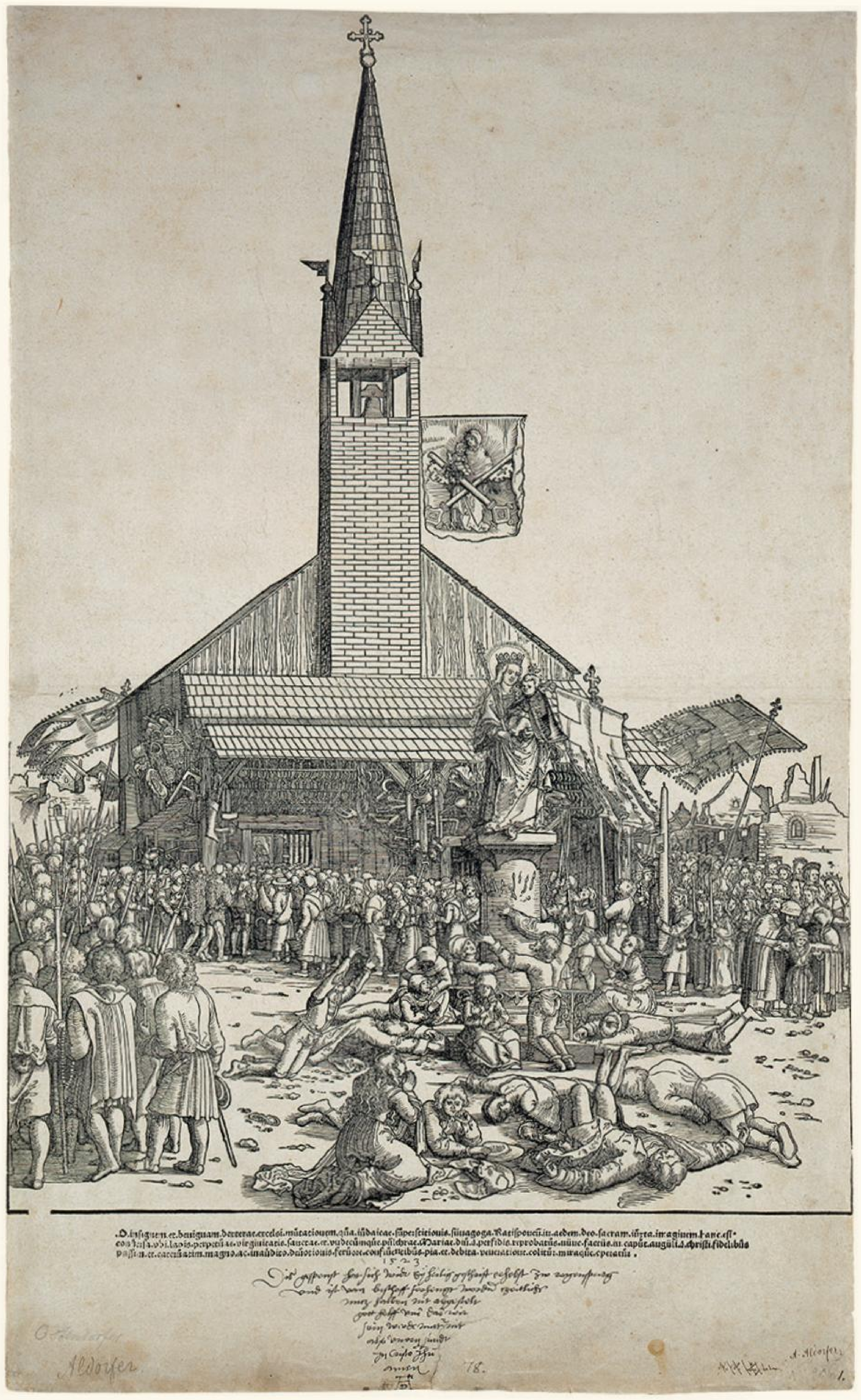


Fig.34
Michael Ostendorfer, *Pilgrims at the Church of the 'Beautiful Virgin' at Regensburg*, c.1519–20, woodcut, inscribed in pen by Dürer on the lower edge, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, inv. no. I, 100, 147

inspired. An abandoned draft of a dedicatory letter to Willibald Pirckheimer for one of his theoretical treatises shows that Dürer, deeply disturbed by the iconoclasts' threats, was keen to ensure that proficiency in the arts be encouraged and passed on among artists for the future benefit of mankind. In this context he assures his reader: 'There is no idolatry in the arts unless someone deliberately introduces it. Moreover, I believe that no one would be so nonsensical as to address his prayers to wood, stone, metal or paints.' It may be that Dürer abandoned this draft after becoming aware of the possible abuses relating to the Regensburg devotion.[27]

Let us return once more to the question of Dürer's images of the Virgin in the light of his notes and in relation to opinions held during the early part of the Reformation. The most informative text on the perception of the Virgin Mary during the early Reformation is Luther's translation and exposition of the *Magnificat*, Mary's canticle (Luke 1:46–55), which was recited daily at the time. It was published in 1521, the year following Dürer's final visual statement regarding the Virgin and Child in the medium of engraving. Luther's attitude towards the Virgin is so strongly reminiscent of the one we encounter in the artist's works that it is worth quoting a passage which takes issue with Mary's status, her role and also with her artistic representations. In his discussion on the canticle verse 'For He has regarded the low estate of His handmaiden,' Luther argues:

> *that even in His mother, God neither found nor desired anything of high degree. But the masters who so depict and portray the blessed Virgin that there is found in her nothing to be despised, but only great and lofty things – what are they doing but contrasting us with her instead of her with God? Thus they make us timid and afraid and hide the Virgin's comfortable picture, as the images are covered over in Lent. For they deprive us of her example, from which we might take comfort; they make an exception of her and set her above all examples. But she should be, and herself gladly would be, the foremost example of the grace of God, to incite all the world to trust in this grace and to love and praise it, so that through her the hearts of all men should be filled with such knowledge of God that they might confidently say: 'O Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, what great comfort God has shown us in you, by so graciously regarding your unworthiness and low estate. This encourages us to believe that henceforth He will not despise us poor and lowly ones, but graciously regard us also, according to your example'... Mary does not desire to be an idol; she does nothing, God does all. We ought to call upon her that for her sake God may grant and do what we request.*[28]

Luther's attitude to the Virgin so closely reflects Dürer's that it might not seem too presumptuous to suggest that the artist's images of the Virgin and Child contributed to the articulation of the Reformation conception of the Virgin Mary. It might be argued that there is little evidence of Luther's particular interest in Dürer apart from his appreciation of a batch of his works, presumably engravings and woodcuts, which he was presented with in 1518.[29] However, while evidence may be lacking, we cannot ignore the fact that Luther enjoyed the support and protection of Dürer's most important early patron, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, and that one of his closest personal friends in Wittenberg was the Elector's court painter, Lucas Cranach the Elder, one of Dürer's greatest admirers and imitators, who was later to devise a specific Reformation iconography in conjunction with Luther and Philip Melanchthon. Indeed, Cranach's own very popular devotional Virgin and Child images are strongly indebted to Dürer's in their economy in the use of attributes, in their choice of local settings and contemporary detail and in the close relationship between Mother and Child.

Dürer's last three engravings of the Virgin and Child were completed in 1519 and 1520, and together constitute his definitive statement on the theme. They are interrelated not only by the use of the same model for Mary, but also by their hieratic and abstracting treatment and further by the haloes Dürer devised for Mary. Whereas the infant's head is surrounded by the traditional cruciform halo pattern, Mary's head rises against a disk of pure light radiating out into the universe, visually connecting her with the divine, light- and life-giving presence of the sun. It seems not so much a personal halo as rather a signification of her as the woman who has been hallowed for being Mother to the Saviour of the world.[30] While this treatment of Mary links the three works, Dürer describes in each depiction a different aspect of what he regarded as the quintessence of Mary's mission to the devotee. The first in the series, the *Virgin suckling the Child*, is slightly smaller in size than the other two; it shows Mary as the humble mother wearing a diadem, a veil covering her bowed head; seated on a grassy bank she is offering her breast to the Child (fig.35).[31] It is an image of intimacy, joy and total absorption in love, of giving and receiving simultaneously. The second, the Virgin

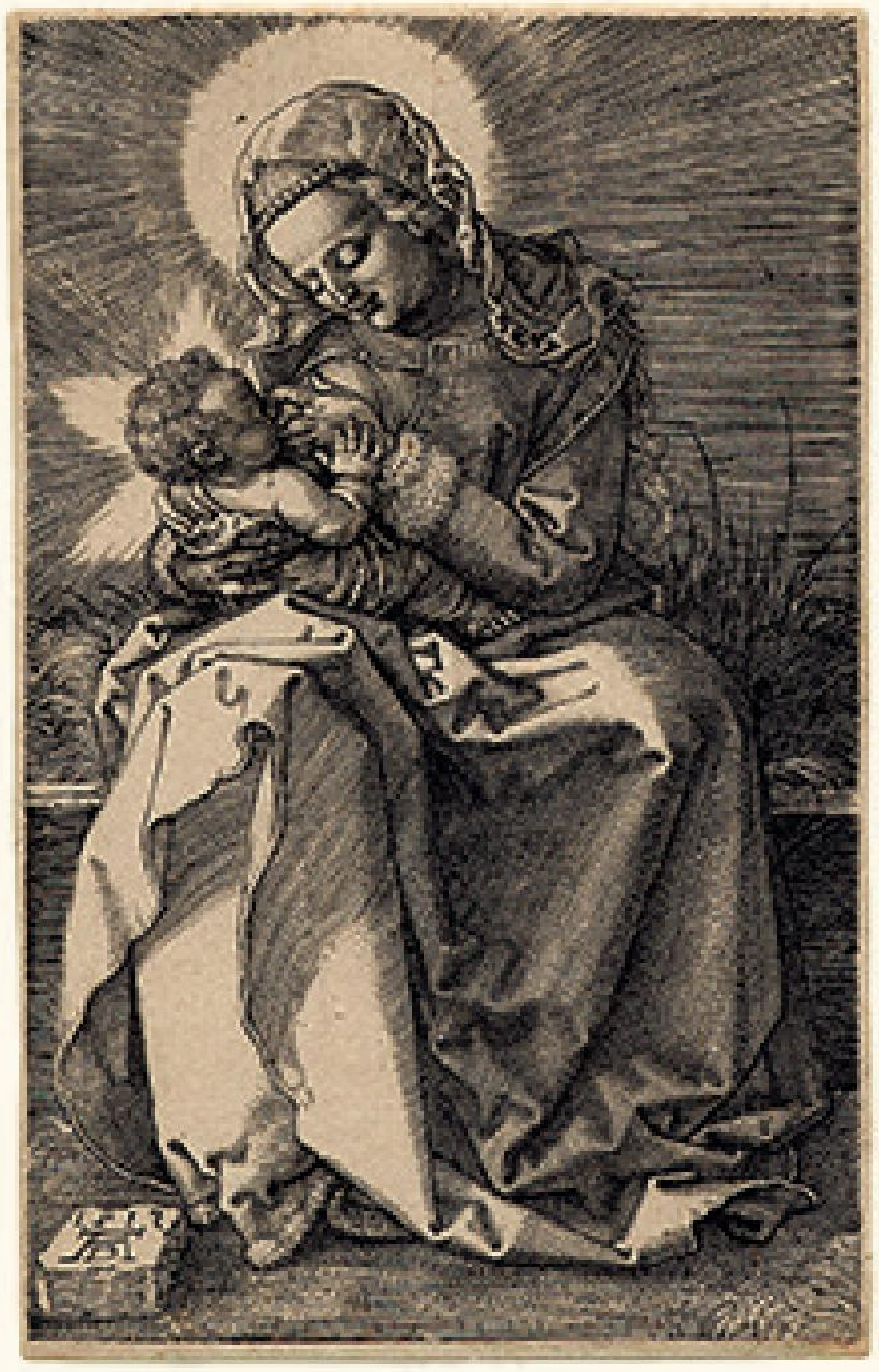


Fig.35
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin suckling the Child*, 1519, engraving, British Museum, London, inv. no. E,4.54

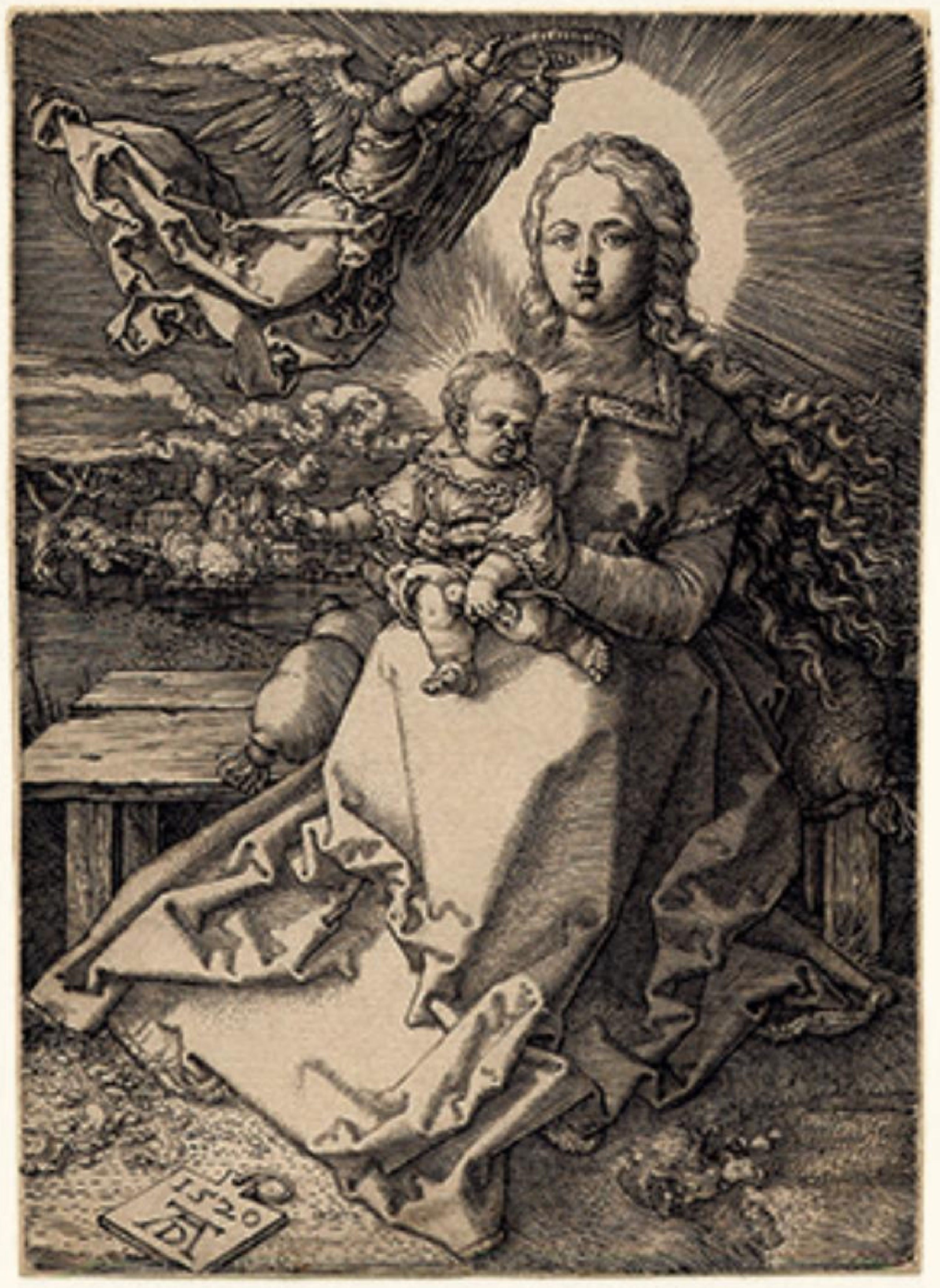


Fig.36
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin crowned by an angel*, 1520, engraving, British Museum, London, inv. no. E,4.70

crowned by one angel, addresses the devotee's need for a hierarchical image; it is one of the very few works in which Mary, sitting erect on a sumptuous cushion, faces the viewer (fig.36).[32] This Queen of Heaven is as oblivious to the angel hovering beside her with the diadem as she is to the manifestation of worldly power rising to the left on the distant shore, while presenting the small but omnipotent Child on her lap. The radiating disk-like halo which circumscribes Mary's head is enlarged upwards and to the left, thus causing her head to be marginally but unmistakably off-centre. This bold innovation is softened by the reduced shading in Mary's face, and, more importantly, by the rays of Christ's halo eclipsing the lower left-hand side of the disk of light. The *Virgin with the swaddled Infant* presents yet another aspect of Dürer's humanist response to the Virgin and her Child (fig.37). Marginally larger than its two predecessors, this work completes a loosely defined set, and we know Dürer presented them together as gifts on at least two occasions.[33] Complementing the image of the nursing Virgin and that of the Queen of Heaven, the *Virgin with the swaddled Infant* leads the viewer to a contemplation of the Pietà. A monumental metaphor of Life and Death, of a Child born to die in order to bestow life, the sorrowful Virgin here issues a silent summons to the devotee to become aware of that 'work of saving grace.'

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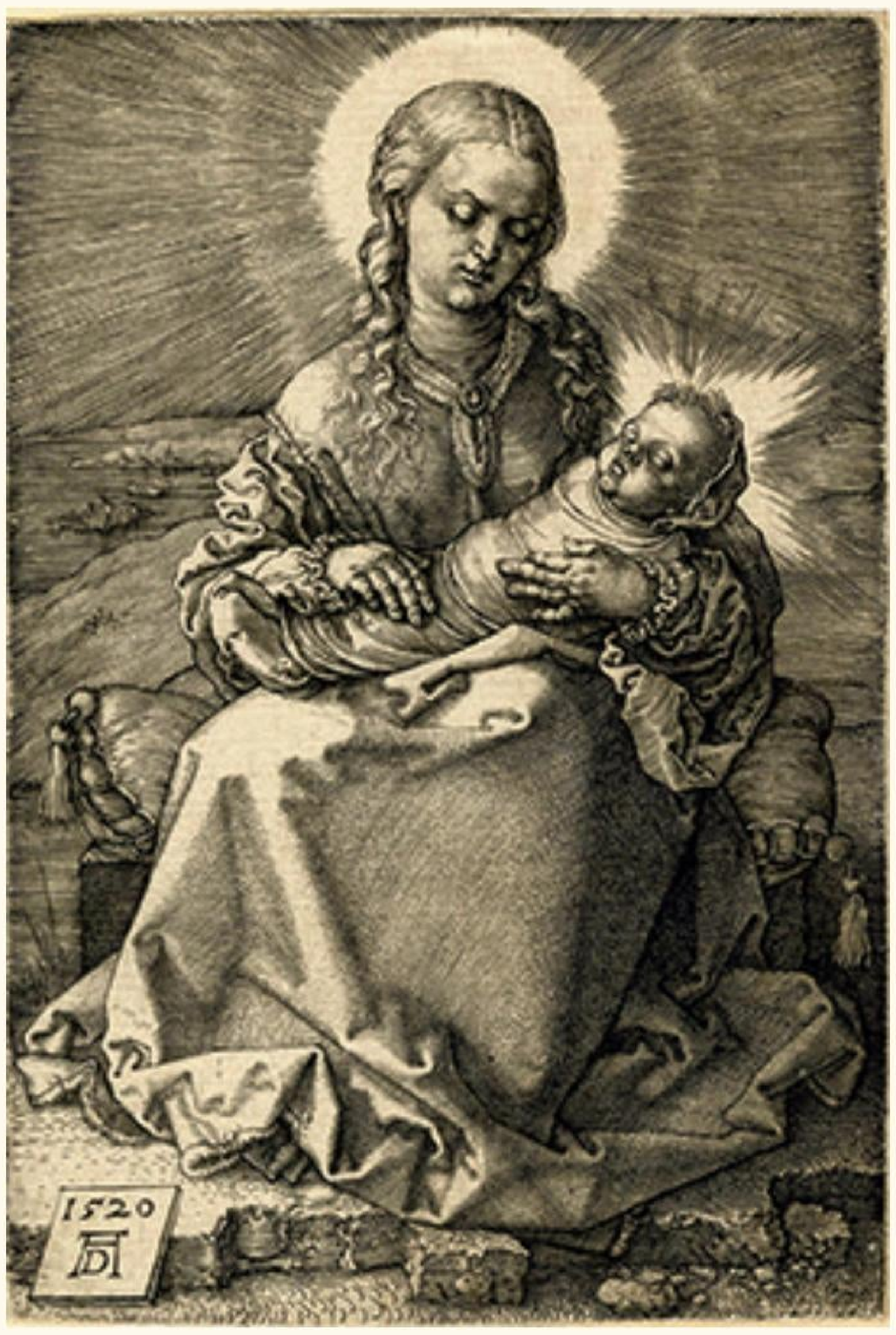


Fig.37
Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin with the swaddled Child*, 1520, engraving, British Museum, London, inv. no. E,4.77

1 See Internationaler Mariologischer Arbeitskreis, *Das Marienbild im Wandel von 1300–1800*, Wurzburg, 1987, p.352; S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und Kunstgeschichte* (*c.*1909), Darmstadt, 1972, p.435. The first pilgrimages made specifically in honour of the Virgin Mary in Germany have been traced back to the early 14th century to Mariazell and Einsiedeln in connection with miraculous Marian images, but it was not until the latter half of the 15th century that sites such as these attracted large masses of pilgrims from every social stratum (see K. Guth, 'Geschichtlicher Abriss der marianischen Wallfahrtsbewegung im deutschsprachigen Raum', in *Handbuch der Marienkunde*, eds W. Beinert & H. Petri, Regensburg, 1984, p.739).

2 Dürer's earliest work known on the theme, made at age 14, is a pen and ink drawing, the *Virgin and Child enthroned with two musical angels*, Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, Kdz 1. Executed in a style reminiscent of Schongauer and the Master E. S., two most significant masters for Dürer's early artistic development, it bears the artist's monogram and is dated 1485. The influence of earlier German masters on Dürer's depictions of the Virgin is discussed in L. Lorenz, *Die Mariendarstellungen Albrecht Dürers*, Strassburg, 1904; see also M. Roth in S. Buck and S.Porras (ed) *The Young Dürer: drawing the figure*, exh. cat. The Courtauld Gallery, London, 2013, pp.76-78, and cat. nos. 2 and 3.

3 The count of the paintings and drawings is only a rough estimate based on the following considerations: some works by Dürer have been lost; those that have survived are not all signed and dated; moreover, there is uncertainty among scholars about the authenticity of some of the signatures and dates, as well as works, because of the artist's extraordinary popularity during the so-called Dürer Renaissance, beginning in the last decade of the 16th-century. For further details, see A. Hass, 'A Double Honour: Albrecht Dürer', in *Albrecht Dürer in the Collection of the National Gallery of Victoria*, ed. I. Zdanowicz, Melbourne, 1994, pp.23–4.

4 *The Holy Family in a bedroom*, *c.*1511 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. HZ 5484; see Strauss 1511/8.

5 *Virgin with two angels*, 1511, Venice, Accademia delle Belle Arti; see Strauss 1511/9. In some ways the last-mentioned group of drawings is particularly intriguing as it documents perceptions Dürer did not elaborate on in his finished work.

6 A. Dürer, *Family Chronicle*, in J. Ashcroft, (ed. and transl): *Albrecht Dürer: Documentary Biography*, 2 vols. New Haven and London, 2017, p.35.

7 Ashcroft 2017, p.395.

8 Dürer's mother's declining years from 1511 on coincide with a recurring exploration of the Mother and Child theme in her son's work. For the year of her death, 1514, at least six drawings of the theme can be recorded, and two engravings: *The Virgin on the Crescent with a Diadem*; J. Meder, *Dürer-Katalog. Ein Handbuch über Albrecht Dürers Stiche, Radierungen, Holzschnitte, deren Zustände, Ausgaben und Wasserzeichen*, Vienna, 1932, no. 35, and the *Virgin by the Wall*, Meder 1932, no. 36.

9 Dürer is very sparing in his use of attributes, and where they do appear he makes them an integral part of the narrative, as for example in the *Virgin with the Pink*, 1516, in Munich.

10 For examples of the Virgin's appearance with halo and as Queen of Heaven, see the engravings of the *Virgin on the crescent* (*c.*1499 (Meder 1932, no.29), 1508 (Meder 1932, no.32), 1514 (Meder 1932, no.35) and 1516 (Meder 1932, no.37), as well as the title -page to the second edition of the *Apocalypse*, *c.*1511, where the Virgin appears to St John the Evangelist (Meder 1932, no.163); further, the title page of the *Life of the Virgin*, *c.*1511 the *Virgin on the Crescent* (Meder 1932, no.188). See also the elaborate woodcut of the *Virgin, Queen of Angels*, 1518 (Meder 1932, no. 211). The use of the halo for a secular Virgin occurs in only one early example: under the influence of his first visit to Italy, Dürer surrounded the head of the Virgin in the *Virgin and Child with the monkey* (Meder 1932, no.30, see fig.31) with a circular halo.

11 Two of these settings, that of the *Virgin and Child with the monkey* and the *Virgin and Child by the wall*, (figs.31 and 30) have been identified as being just outside the city of Nuremberg.

12 For the use of these phrases, see W. L. Strauss (ed.), *The Intaglio Prints of Albrecht Dürer: Engravings, Etchings and Drypoints*, 3rd edn, New York, 1981, nos 39, 78: Thausing (1876), Wölfflin (1905); no. 78: Winkler (1957); no. 74: Talbot (1971); no. 70: Wölfflin (1905); nos 70, 74: Panofsky (1943).

13 M. W. Roskill (trans. & ed.), *Dolce's 'Aretino' and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, New York, 1968, p.113.

14 P. Strieder & L. von Wilckens, *Vorbild Dürer: Kupferstiche und Holzschnitte Albrecht Dürers in Spiegel der europäischen Druckgraphik des 16. Jahrhunderts* (exh. cat.), Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 1978; and H. Beck & P. C. Bol (eds), *Dürers Verwandlung in der Skulptur zwischen Renaissance und Barock* (exh. cat.), Liebighaus, Frankfurt, 1981; Giovanni Maria Fara, *Albrecht Dürer: originali, copie, derivazioni*, Florence, 2007; C. Hermann Fiore, *Dürer e l'Italia*, Rome, 2007; C.Vogt, *Das Druckgraphische Bild nach Vorlagen Albrecht Dürers. Zum Phänomen der graphischen Kopie (Reproduktion) zu Lebzeiten Dürers nördlich der Alpen*, Munich, Berlin, 2008; B. Aikema with the collaboration of A. J. Martin, *Albrecht Dürer e il Rinascimento tra Italia e Germania*, (exh. cat.) Palazzo Reale di Milan, 2018.

15 L. Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, New York, 1983, p.8.

16 Several northern artists, including Rogier van der Weyden and Martin Schongauer, had previously adopted the Italian iconography of the Incarnation to suit their needs (for further details, see Steinberg, 1983).

17 *Virgin suckling the Child*, Strauss 1974, 1512/6; This drawing was translated into a miniature painting in the early 17th century by Daniel Fröschl at the court of Emperor Rudolf II, and is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum ,Vienna (see T. D. Kaufmann, 'Hermeneutics in the History of Art: Remarks on the Reception of Dürer in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg: Five Essays*, ed. J. C. Smith, Austin, Texas, 1985, p.25).

18 To mention just a few very popular Italian examples, consider the Virgin and Child groups by Luca della Robbia, Botticelli, Domenico Veneziano, and to some degree even Giovanni Bellini. The latter's devotional Virgin and Child paintings were studied closely by Dürer and briefly emulated in the panels around and just after the second visit to Italy. For further information on the devotional image of the Virgin and Child during the Italian Renaissance, see R. G. Kecks, *Madonna und Kind: Das häusliche Andachtsbild im Florenz des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1988; R. Goffen, 'Icon and Vision: Giovanni Bellini's Half-Length Madonnas', Art Bulletin, vol. LVII, no. 4, December 1975, pp.487–514.

19 For further details, see M. L. D'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, Monographs on Archeology and Fine Arts, College Art Association of America in conjunction with the *Art Bulletin*, 1957; the Immaculate Conception was only defined as a dogma in 1854 (see F. L. Cross & E. A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford, 1983, pp.692–3; see also D'Ancona, p.4).

20 A further Marian series comprising the *Seven Joys of the Virgin Mary*, is only known to us only from a series of copies that survived in the Cranach workshop (see P. Strieder (ed.), *Albrecht Dürer 1471–1971* (exh. cat.), Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 1971, cat. no. 587). Earlier, in 1496/97, Dürer had executed the central panel of the *Dresden Altarpiece* for the Elector of Saxony, depicting the Virgin Mary adoring the Child.

21 In a letter dated 24 August 1508, Dürer referred to a Marian painting Heller had seen in his workshop, asking whether Heller could suggest a client who might be interested in it. Three months later, in November, he told Heller not to bother any longer because it had been purchased by the Bishop of Breslau (Albrecht Dürer, letters to Jacob Heller, 24 August and 4 November 1508, see Ashcroft 2017, pp.215, 218). In his Netherlandish journal, Dürer records that he presented the Bishop of Bamberg with a painted Marian image in 1520, on the way to Antwerp, and further that he sold one to his host in Antwerp. He also records a number of other small religious paintings done with no specific purpose or client in mind (eg Ashcroft 2017, p.551) The only devotional Marian work of a small format known to have been commissioned is the painting of the Virgin and Child with St Anne, 1519, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see F. Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, Berlin, 1971, no. 147) in which Dürer retained his artistic freedom by depicting his own wife as St Anne.

22 See Ashcroft 2017, p.312.

23 Apparently the site attracted over 120,000 people in one of these years (see H. Mielke, *Albrecht Altdorfer: Zeichnungen, Deckfarbenmalerei, Druckgraphik* (exh. cat.), Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 1988, cat. no. 202).

24 Author's translation of Dürer's inscription on impression of the woodcut in Coburg; see also Ashcroft 2017, p.689.

25 Ironically, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (*c.*1477–1541), a follower of Luther's, had dedicated his earlier treatise on the Last Supper to Albrecht Dürer the year before (see W. Hofmann (ed.), *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst* (exh. cat.), Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1983, pp.127–8).

26 The original text reads: 'Die Bilder sind weder dies noch das, sind weder gut noch böse, man kann sie haben oder nicht haben' ('Acht Sermone D. Martin Luthers, von ihm selbst gepredigt zu Wittenberg in der Fastenzeit. 1522', in *Martin Luther: Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. 1, eds K. Bornkamm & G. Ebeling, Frankfurt, 1982, pp.298–9). In 1512 Dürer had expressed similar thoughts in his drafts for the *Fragment on Painting*, where he likened the use of the arts to the handling of a sword, 'which may be used either for murder or justice' (see Ashcroft 2017, p.373).

27 See H. Rupprich, 'Dürers Stellung zu den agnoëtischen und kunstfeindlichen Strömungen seiner Zeit. Mit einem neuen Dürer-Brief', in *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, vol. 1, Munich, 1959, p.24. The original text reads: 'Es ist auch kein abgötterei jnn dieser kunst, man wöll dann mutwillen mit gebrauchen. Ich glaub auch, dos nÿmand so unsinig seÿ, der holtz, stein, metall oder farben anpette.' Rupprich suggests that Dürer drafted this dedicatory letter towards the end of 1527 or early in 1528 for his *Treatise on Human Proportions*; however, for the abovementioned reasons I believe that it predates Dürer's comment on Ostendorfer's woodcut.

28 M. Luther, *The Magnificat*, transl. A. T. W. Steinhaeuser, in J. Pelikan (ed.), *Luther's Works*, vol. 21, St. Louis, 1956, pp.323, 328–9.

29 Martin Luther, letter to Christoph Scheurl, 5 March 1518, see Ashcroft 2017, p.483.

30 Dürer had used the radiating halo as early as 1510. In the *Small Passion* he explored it in several scenes following the *Noli me tangere* (Meder 1932, 156; where he used the same continuous lines for the rays of the sun). In the *Large Passion* it was used for Christ in the liturgically significant *Last Supper* (Meder 1932, 114) from 1510; in the following year Dürer explored similar rays around the vision of Mary and the Child on the crescent moon while preparing the second title page for the *Apocalypse* and the title page for the *Life of the Virgin*. Apart from this, the continuous rays of light emanating from a single source also feature in the *Melencolia I*, 1514 (fig.25). However, it is only in the last three engravings of the Virgin and Child that Dürer fuses the motif of actual sun-rays with that of a radiating halo.

31 Apart from his halo, Christ's superhuman status is only hinted at by the lack of support given his head in this position. Further, the image faintly evokes the Caritas motif.

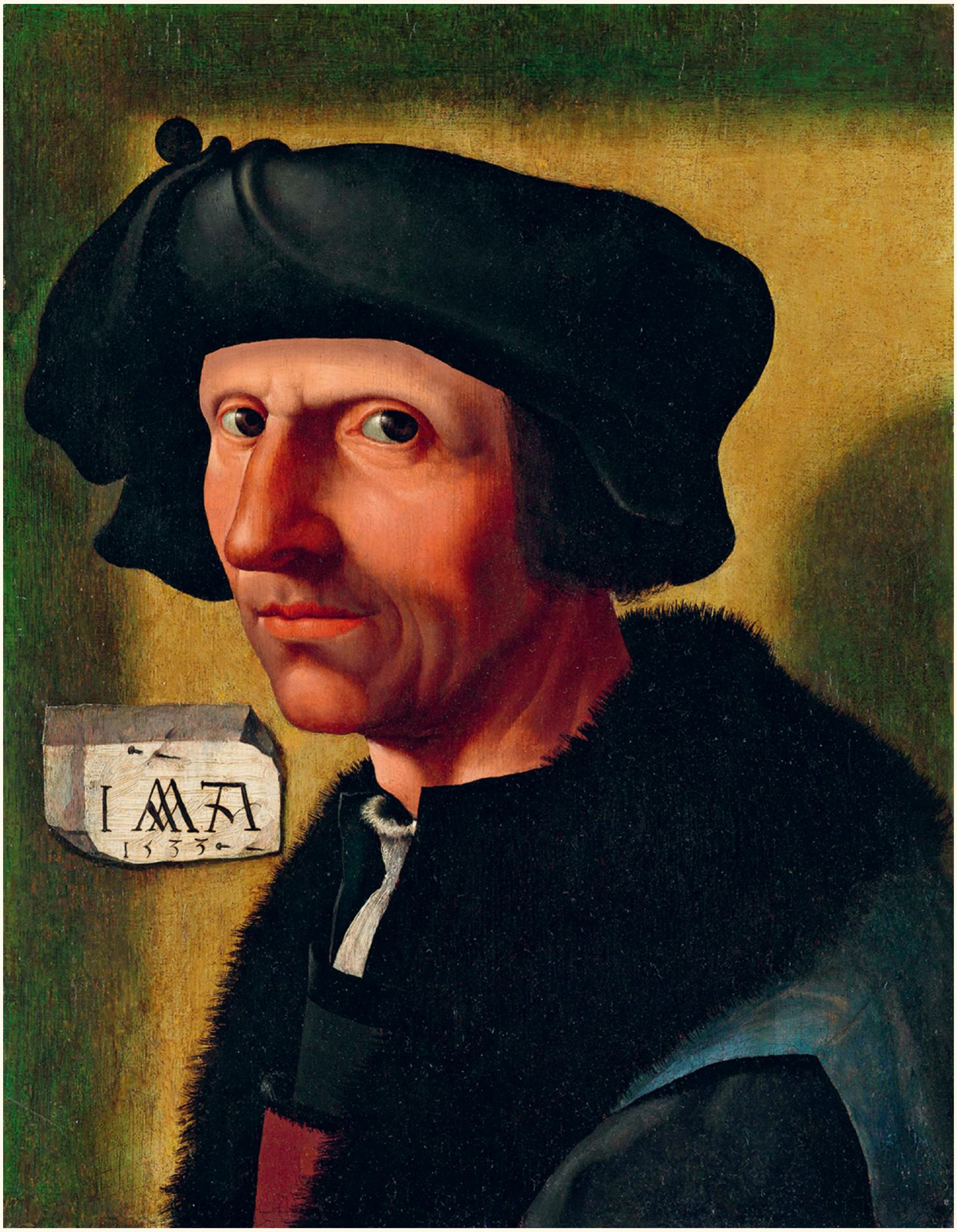
32 The only comparable image is the *Virgin crowned by Angels* (Meder 1932, 211), a woodcut of 1518 in which Mary and the Child are surrounded by a heavenly retinue of angels, paying homage and making music. It is Dürer's most regal print of the Virgin and Child, and also the largest (after that of the *Holy Family with Three Hares*, *c.*1496 (Meder 1932, 212), clearly made to satisfy orthodox devotional needs.

33 For gifts presented when Dürer was in the Netherlands, see Ashcroft 2017, p.559 for a set presented to the sculptor Konrad Meit, whom Dürer held in great esteem, and p.563.

The Crucifixion of 1507 by Jacob Cornelisz

An early Netherlandish masterpiece and the impact of Albrecht Dürer [1]

PETER VAN DEN BRINK



Jacob Cornelisz (workshop of),
Portrait of Jacob Cornelisz (c.1472/77–1528/33), c.1533,
oil on panel, Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam

Carel van Mander states that Jacob Cornelisz was born in Oostzaan, a small village north of Amsterdam, and that he was already an experienced painter with teenage children when Jan van Scorel entered his workshop around 1512. It was the art historian G.J. Hoogewerff, who in 1939 gave the painter his surname 'Van Oostsanen'. However, this name, the village where he came from, does not appear anywhere in archival documents and was made up by Hoogewerff to form a contrast towards some German art historians of his time, Steinbart and Friedländer, who baptised the painter as Jacob van Amsterdam, as has recently been suggested by S.A.C. Dudok van Heel. He did, however, make use of the name 'War' or 'Waer', as can be judged from many of his signed and monogrammed paintings, drawings and prints.[2]

Nothing is known about his parents, nor when he moved to Amsterdam or by whom he was trained. Nor is it known when Jacob married his wife Anna. They had four children, at least two of whom were trained by their father: Cornelis Jacobsz (?–in or before 1533), about whom there is no further information, and Dirk Jacobsz (*c.*1497–*c.*1567), who was best known as a portrait painter. Also according to Van Mander, Jacob Cornelisz's brother was Cornelis Buys I, who was active as a painter in Alkmaar. The earliest mention of Jacob Cornelisz in Amsterdam is in an archival document from 1500, which shows that he bought a house in the Kalverstraat. Since his wife is recorded as a widow on 18 October 1533, and his second house was sold in his absence in the autumn of 1532, it is accepted that he died before the first date, and possibly before the second. In 1526, 1527 and 1528, Egmond Abbey paid him for work on a large altarpiece, so his date of death can be placed somewhere between 1528 and 1533.

Most of the approximately 200 woodcuts after designs by Jacob Cornelisz are dated between 1507 and 1522, making it easy to follow his development. Only 6 of the 30 paintings attributed to him carry his monogram, but a good number are dated. His earliest dated paintings stem from 1507. His last known, securely attributed painting dates from 1526 (*Saul and the witch of Endor*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-668).

In addition to paintings on canvas and panel as well as woodcuts, there are designs for stained-glass windows and copes, and ceiling paintings. Jacob's painted oeuvre mostly consists of religious works: large altarpieces, smaller panels for private devotion, and several which appear to have been made for the open market. There are also a few independent portraits that are attributed to him. Jacob's earliest works are craftsman-like and executed in a very laborious technique, looking more as if they were drawn with paint than painted. The choice of subject is traditional. It was only in his later work, undoubtedly influenced by Jan van Scorel, that he transcended the status of craftsman in technique, style and iconography. His huge output indicates that he had a large workshop with several assistants, including Jan van Scorel and his sons Cornelis Jacobsz and Dirk Jacobsz, and possibly his grandsons Cornelis Anthonisz and Jacob Dirksz as well.

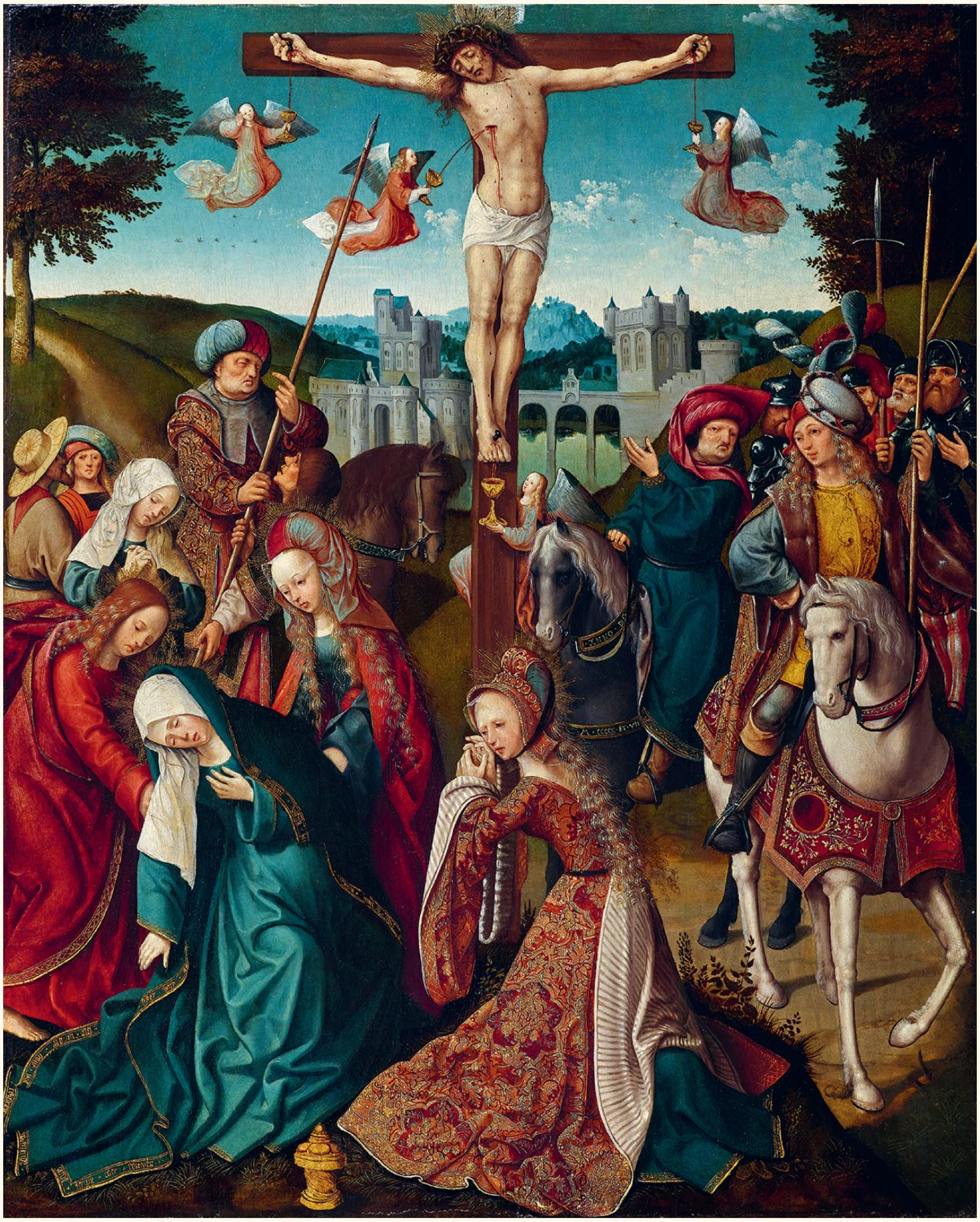


Fig.38
Jacob Cornelisz, *The Crucifixion*, 1507, oil on panel, Agnew's Gallery

THE CRUCIFIXION AND ITS UNDERDRAWING

In her 2006 article *A Painter in Black and White: the Symbiotic Relationship Between the Paintings and Woodcuts of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen*, Daantje Meuwissen demonstrated convincingly that the *Crucifixion* (fig.38) was an authentic early work by the Amsterdam painter, glass- and woodcut designer Jacob Cornelisz.[3] Although the painting does not carry a monogram, it is clearly dated 1507 ('ANNO DNI MCCCCC et VII') on the harness of the dark-grey horse.[4] By comparing the underdrawing beneath the painted surface – made visible with the aid of infrared reflectography[5] – with the linear pattern of the signed and 1507 dated woodcuts of the *Life of the Virgin* by Jacob Cornelisz, Meuwissen

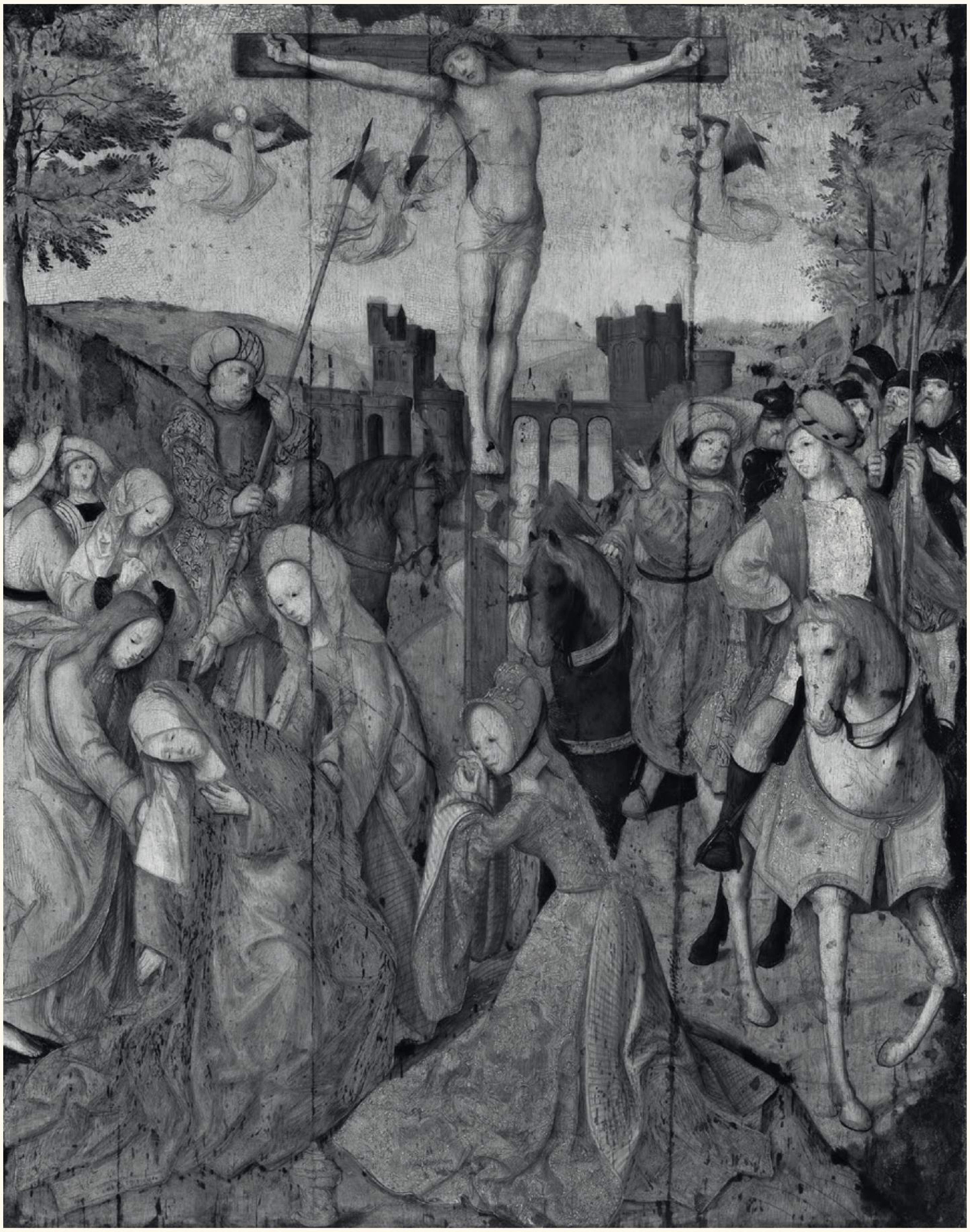


Fig.39
Infrared reflectography showing extensive underdrawing of *The Crucifixion*

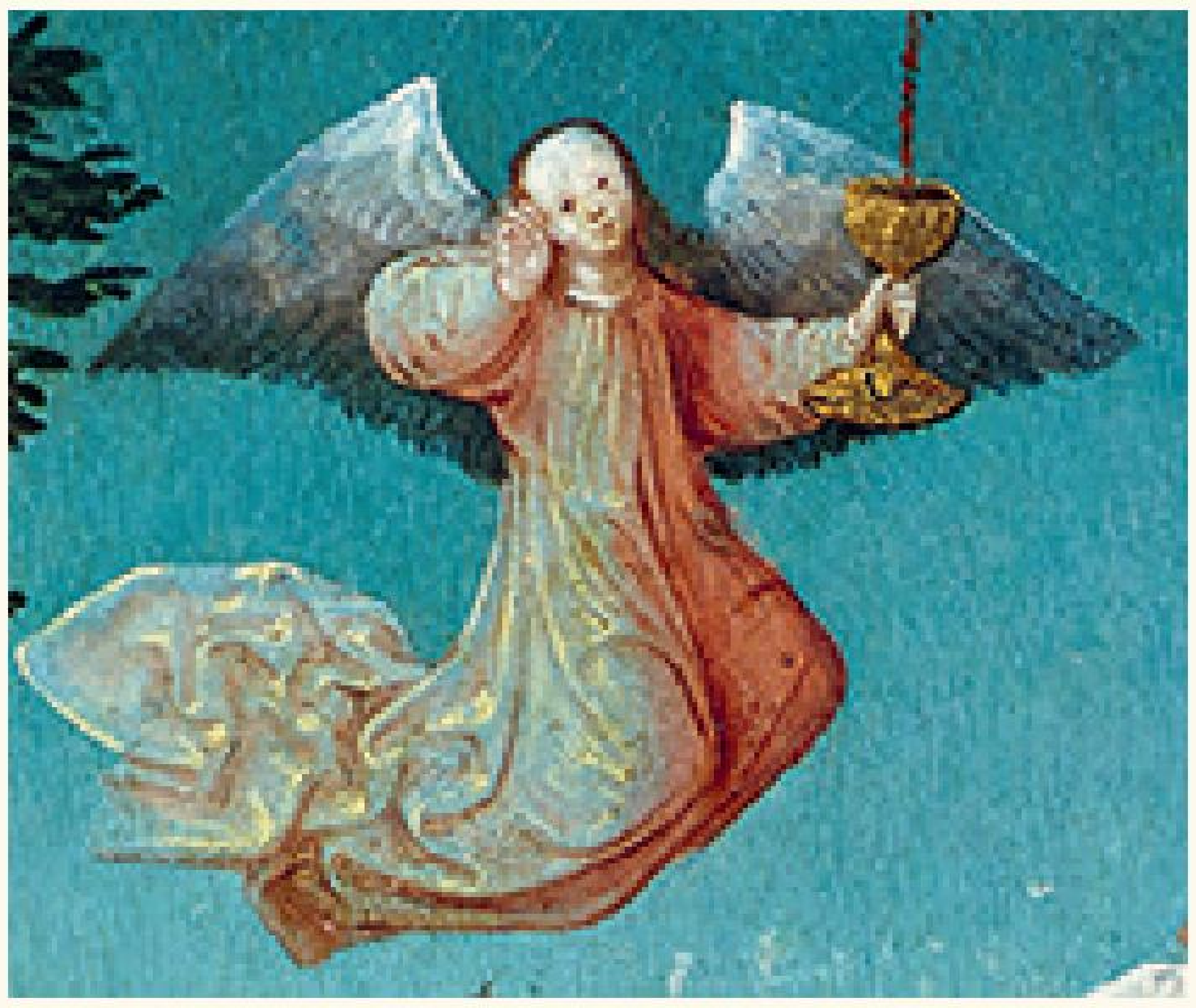


Fig.40
Detail of angel catching Christ's blood in a cup from fig.38

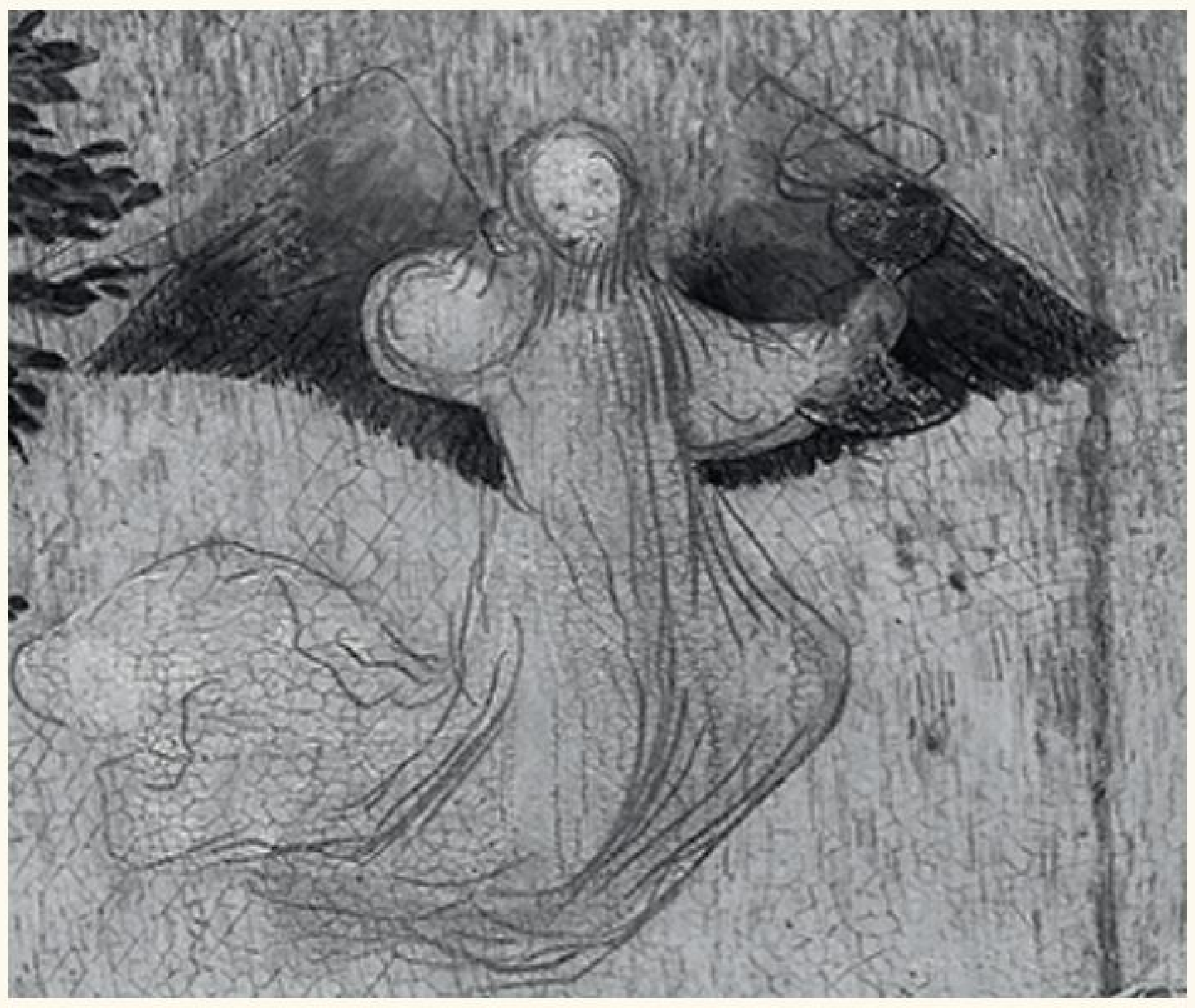


Fig.41
Infrared detail of angel catching Christ's blood in a cup showing the underdrawing, fig.39

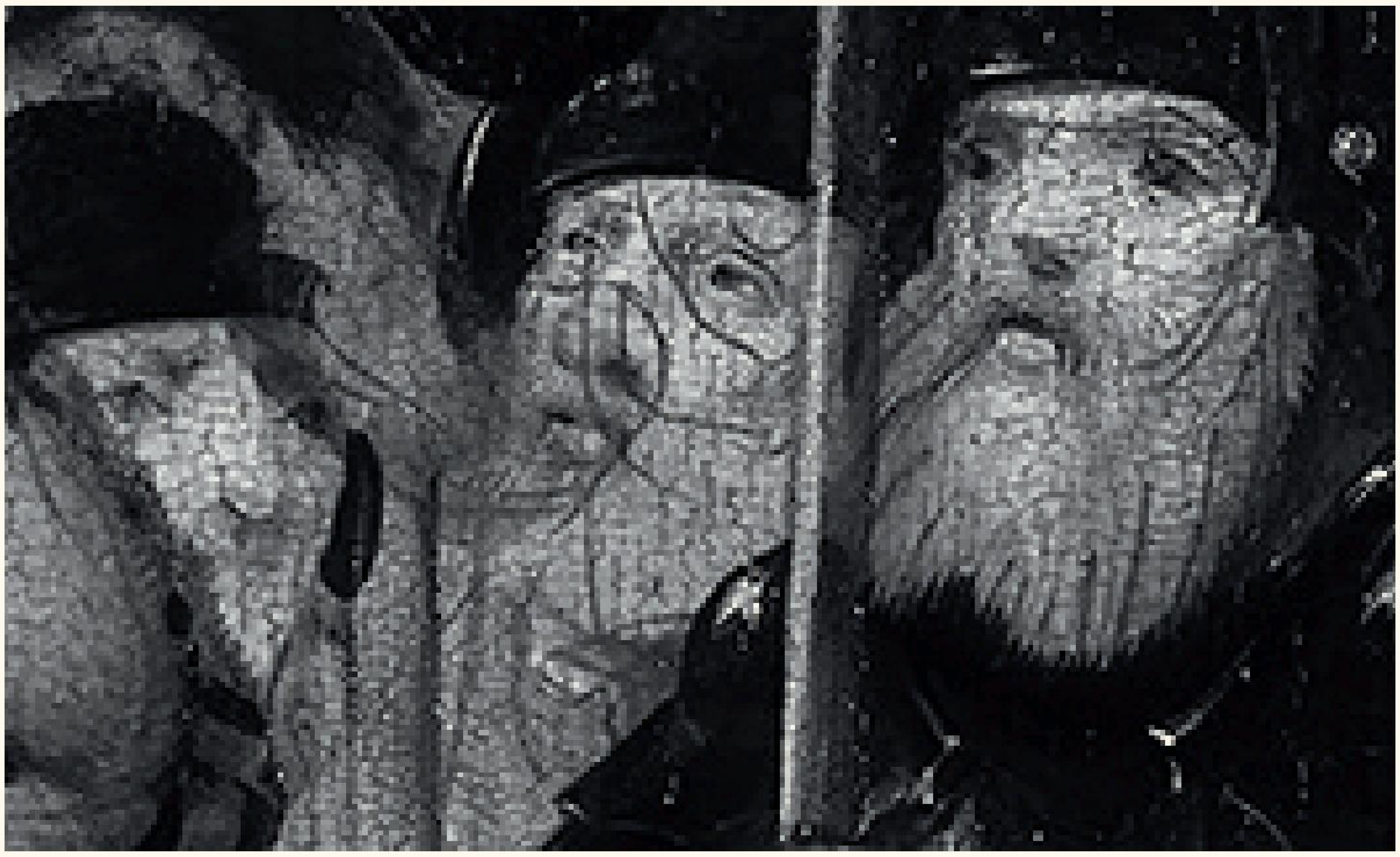


Fig.42
Infrared detail of faces of the soldiers to the right of the Cross showing the underdrawing, fig.39

was able to demonstrate that the same hand was responsible for both the design of the woodcuts and the preparatory design of the painting.[6] Because of the high quality of the painted surface the picture could be securely attributed to Jacob Cornelisz himself, although in a later publication Meuwissen expressed her doubt on the landscape background being by the same hand.[7]

Since Daantje Meuwissen discussed the underdrawing and its graphic characteristics in detail and I fully agree with her comparative analysis between the *Crucifixion* and the 1507 series of woodcuts, I do not want to go too much into detail here. However, the painting has recently been re-examined with the aid of infrared reflectography and the legibility of the underdrawing visible in the new IRR composite is a great improvement compared to the images of 2000 Daantje Meuwissen had to work with.[8] The underdrawing (fig.39) has been applied in a dry medium, probably black chalk, in a very swift and dynamic manner, leaving no doubt that the underdrawing was made by a single, experienced hand. This must have been Jacob Cornelisz himself, as Daantje Meuwissen demonstrated with the aid of a pattern book that she published in 2006.[9] However, what I regard as remarkable are the dynamics of the underdrawing and how this free and assured sketch was followed on the painted surface. The lack of precision of the underdrawing placed the responsibility of the outcome of the finished paint surface entirely in the hands of the painter, indicating that he most certainly was the same person that set up the underdrawing. A good example is the angel underneath the cross that catches Christ's blood in a gold cup (fig.40). This delicate, mourning figure in its dress in *couleur changeant* was only prepared with the aid of a few confident strokes to adumbrate the wings, head, arms and sweeping dress, whereas the gold cup was only indicated with a simple loop (fig.41). Moreover, changes in the lay-out of the composition, as in the faces of the soldiers to the right, are sufficient proof that the painter responsible for those changes must have been the master of the workshop himself (fig.42). At first glance the rather empty background landscape seems disappointing. Close comparison between the underdrawing and the painted surface indicates that there was slightly more planned in the sketchy lay-out of the architecture than was realised in paint, but not much. The enormous care the painter took to work out the many details in the brocade patterns, the elegant clothing and the horse-trappings, or for that matter the use of *couleur changeant* in some of the headdresses, do indeed form a contrast to the empty road to the left and the lack of finish in the fairytale castle in the background. However, I am convinced the painter may have done this on purpose, creating a more airy atmosphere on the horizon and to position the emphasis on the foreground scene. Therefore I do not believe the background is of a lesser quality, as Daantje Meuwissen argued: on the contrary, it adds greatly to the balance and depth of the composition.

Although these findings are essential in understanding the genesis of the painting, I regard it just as important to define the position of the painting within the artist's oeuvre, and to compare it with other painted versions of the same subject that have been attributed to the artist and his studio. Finally it would be useful to take a better look at the artist's sources, in particular the local painting tradition, and above all Albrecht Dürer's woodcuts.

However, we can already establish two important facts: the painting can firmly be placed in the year 1507 and it was most certainly painted by Jacob Cornelisz. This seems rather obvious, but Meuwissen blurred the picture somewhat by stating that the artist's painted 'pearl', the 1507 dated *Noli me tangere* in Kassel (fig.43) differs fundamentally from both the *Crucifixion* and the *Life of the Virgin* woodcuts that were produced in the same year.[10] A close comparison between the two dated pictures shows differences in painting technique

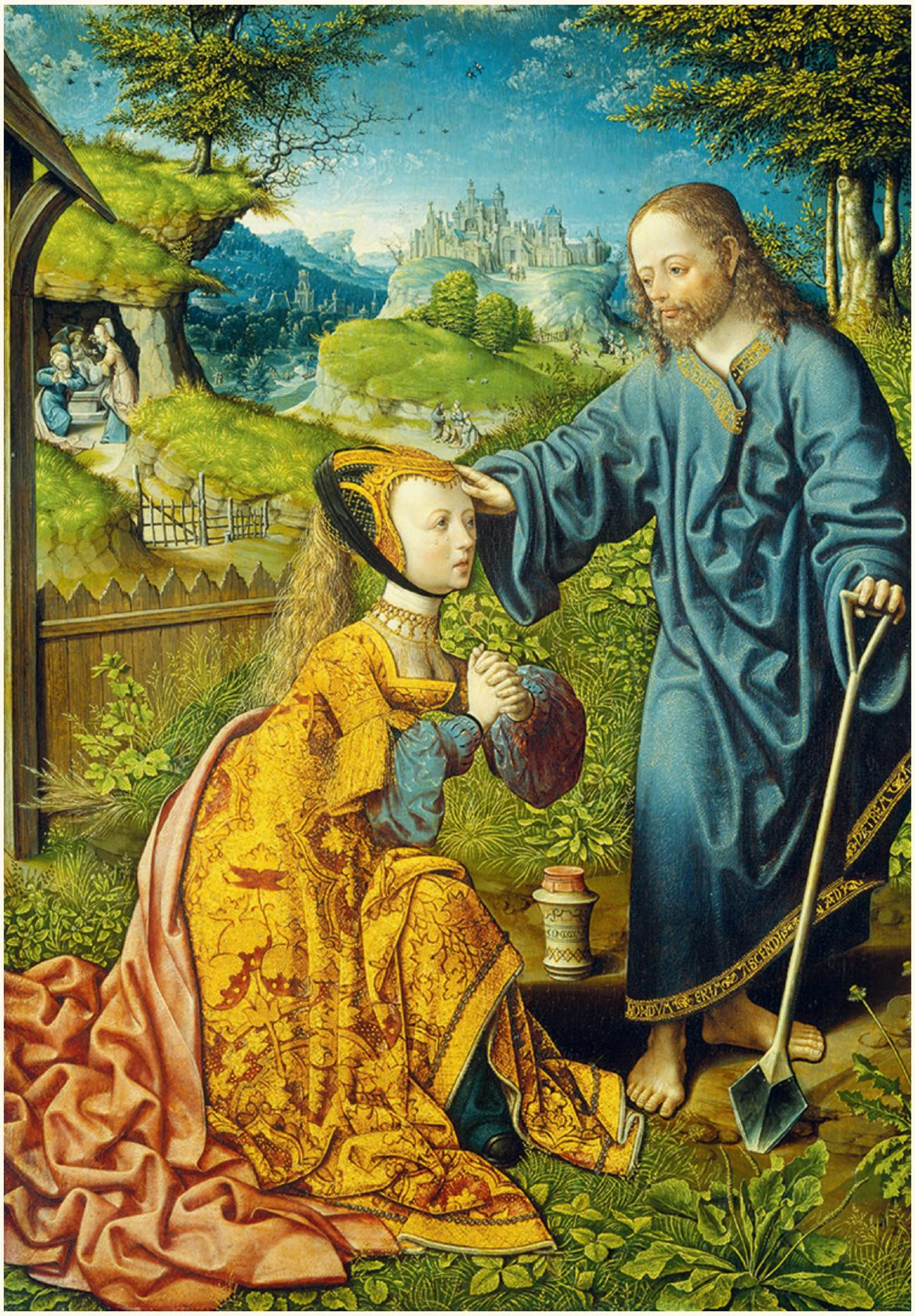


Fig.43
Jacob Cornelisz, *Noli me tangere*, 1507, oil on panel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Museumslandschaft Hessen-Kassel, inv. no. GAM 10482

and especially colour pattern. The palette of the Kassel *Noli me tangere* is indeed overly bright and the concentration on details meticulous, much more so than is visible in the *Crucifixion*. This is even more emphasized because of the superb condition of its painted surface. Although I admit that the two pictures differ in their execution, this may in part be due to the function they held for their respective owners. No doubt the *Noli me tangere* was meant as a private devotional object, whereas the *Crucifixion* was certainly part of an altarpiece, most likely a triptych, that was placed in a chapel. In addition, there are many similarities between the two and when we add a third picture to the comparison, things become clearer.

The Meeting of David and Abigail in the Copenhagen Statens Museum for Kunst (fig. 44) clearly takes its place between the Kassel *Noli me tangere* and our *Crucifixion*.[11] In its overall colour pattern and the typical detailed vegetation, the Copenhagen painting follows the smaller picture in Kassel, whereas the painterly execution of the many figures in

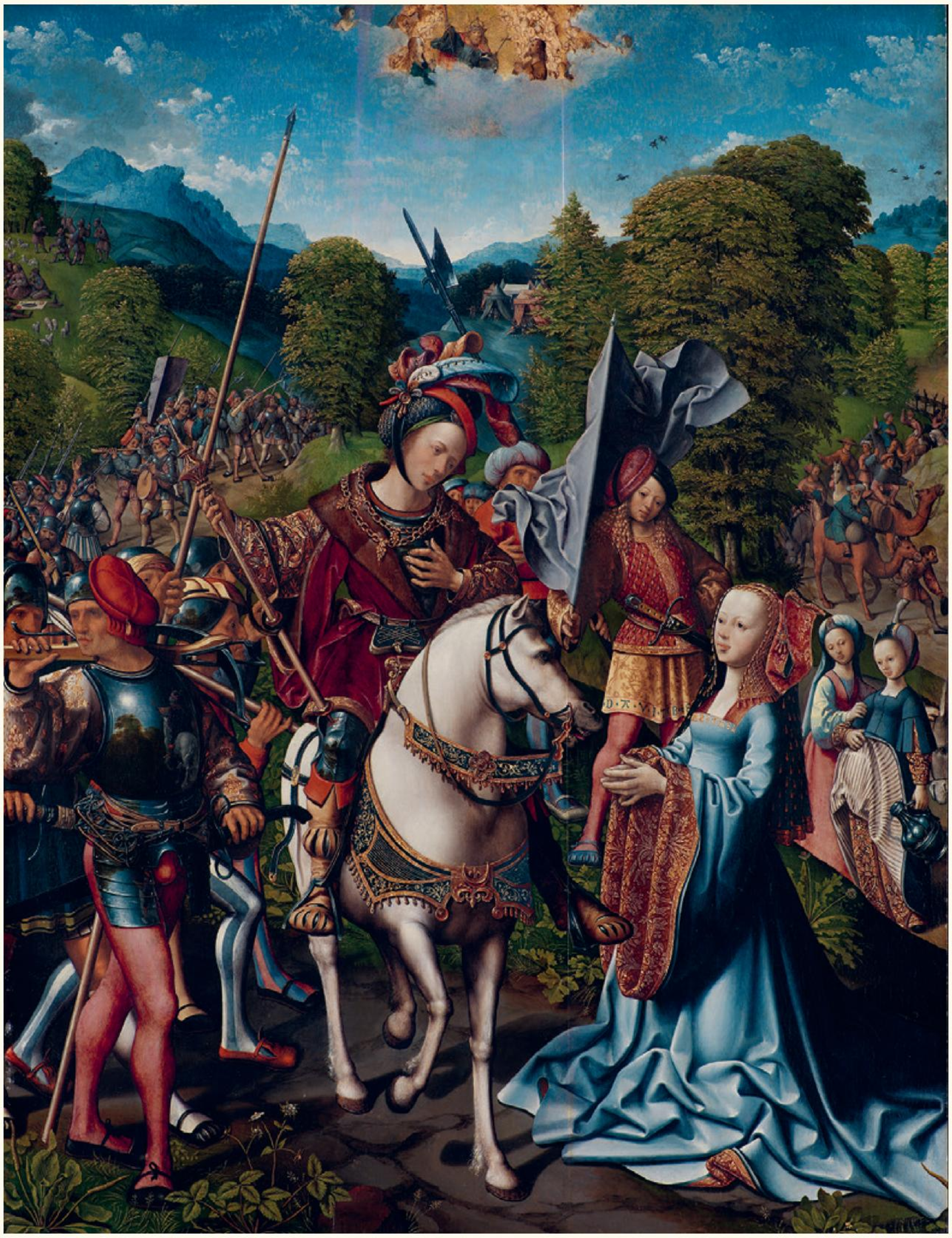


Fig. 44
Jacob Cornelisz, *The Meeting of David and Abigail*, c. 1507, oil on panel, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. no. KMSSP734

the foreground is more in line with the *Crucifixion*. Unlike what is stated by Meuwissen with regard to the facial types of the three paintings, there can be little doubt they come from the same source. A detailed comparison between the face of Christ in Kassel with that of the extravagantly dressed blonde horseman on the *Crucifixion* (figs.45, 46), or for that matter, the figures of David and his elegant compatriot in Copenhagen (fig.44), leaves no doubt that they were all painted by the same artist, whereas the facial type of the Magdalene in Kassel is a mirror image of her counterpart in the *Crucifixion*. In addition, the way the clouds have been painted in the sky is virtually identical in all three pictures. The underdrawing of the *Crucifixion*, although certainly not identical, is not at all dissimilar to that of the *Noli me tangere*, in spite of Meuwissen's suggestion to the contrary.[12] The underdrawing of *The Meeting of David and Abigail* in Copenhagen is without doubt by the same hand as that of the *Crucifixion*.[13] It displays the same dynamic draughtsmanship in a dry material, exactly following the characteristics of Jacob Cornelisz' underdrawing to the letter, as laid down in the pattern book that Daantje Meuwissen published in 2006. Overseeing all of this, the Copenhagen picture, too, like the *Crucifixion* and *Noli me tangere*, must have been produced around 1507.

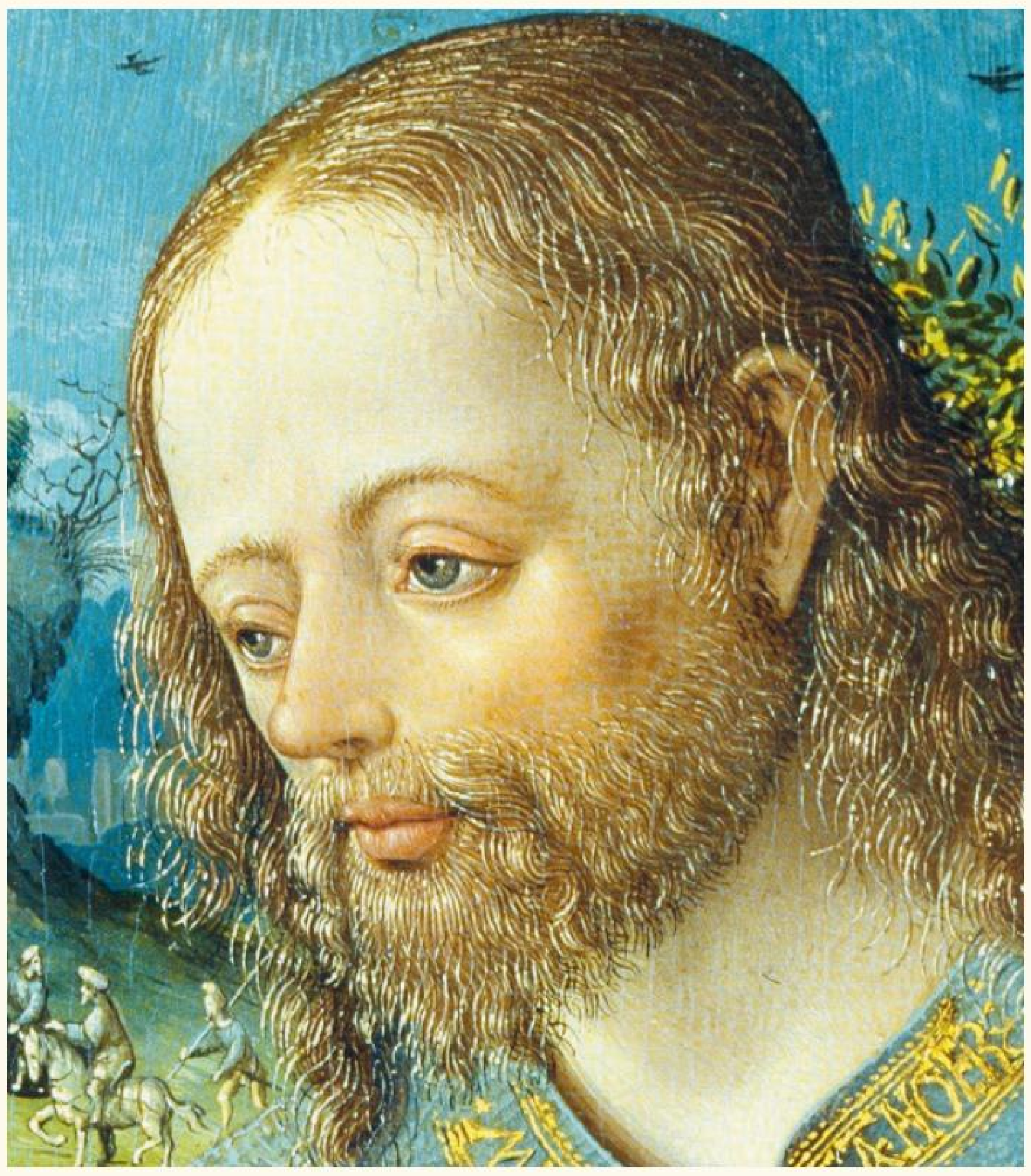


Fig.45
Detail of the head of Christ from
Noli me tangere, fig.43

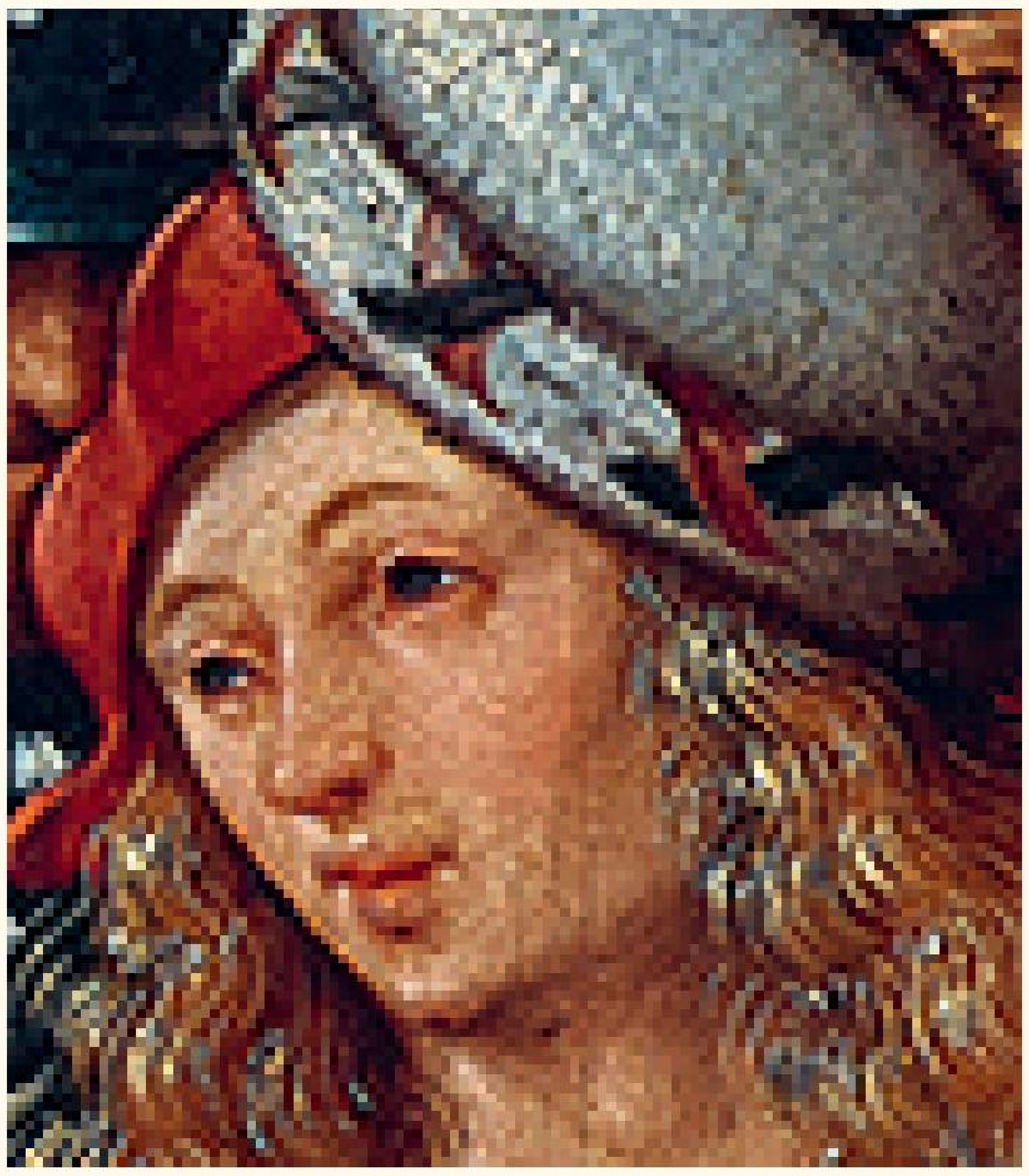


Fig.46
Detail of head of the horseman
to the right of the cross in
Crucifixion, fig.38

I do think the stylistic differences between the Kassel picture and the *Crucifixion* may actually point to divergent stylistic models. As I already suggested in 2014 with regard to an early triptych with *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, at present in a private collection,[14] Jacob Cornelisz must have had first-hand knowledge of some of the altarpieces and devotional paintings that were painted by the so-called Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece, a painter active between 1475 and 1510, either in Cologne or Nijmegen, but most certainly of Netherlandish origin, having trained in Utrecht or Gelderland.[15] It is of course possible Jacob Cornelisz was active in the studio of this remarkable painter, who is still left without a name,[16] but not necessarily. A possible stay in Gelderland and Cologne may well have taken place around 1507.[17] Three paintings especially, *Noli me tangere*, *The Meeting of David and Abigail* and the small triptych with *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* show a strong stylistic affinity with some of the altarpieces by the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece.

The *Crucifixion* seems to have been painted earlier in the year 1507, given the fact that many characteristics that link the slightly later paintings by Jacob Cornelisz to the Bartholomew Master are less obvious or even absent: the overly bright colour pattern and this profound sense of decorative and crisp detail, both for the landscape and the vegetation in the foreground, but inspiration for facial types as well. The friendly-looking, but rather young Christ in the Kassel painting looks as if he has been modeled after his counterpart in the *Baptism of Christ*, now in Washington (fig. 47).[18] The centre panel of the small triptych with *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* is closely connected with the Bartholomew Master's spectacular *Deposition* in the Louvre,[19] dateable to *c.* 1490, not only with regard to the similar gold background but also for the facial types of Saint John and the Virgin Mary. A similar comparison can be noted with regard to the much smaller studio repetition of the Louvre Altarpiece in Philadelphia,[20] or for that matter the slightly later *Crucifixion Altarpiece*, made for the Carthusian Monastery of Saint Barbara in Cologne, and today in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum.[21]

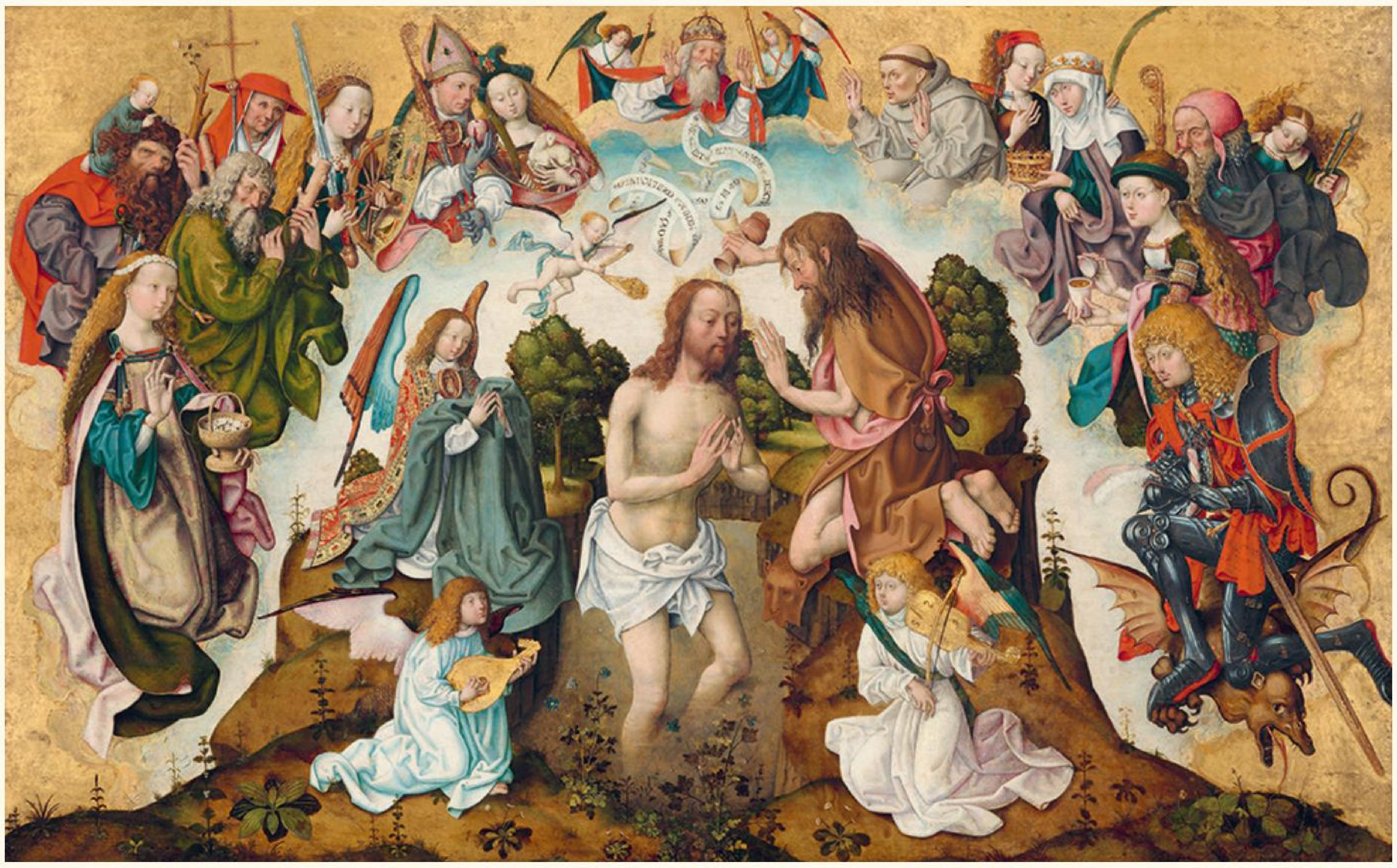


Fig. 47
Master of Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece, *The Baptism of Christ*, *c.* 1485–1500, oil on panel, National Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. no. 1961.9.78

THE EARLIEST PAINTINGS AND THE MASTER OF THE FIGDOR DEPOSITION

The likely presence of Jacob Cornelisz in Arnhem, Nijmegen and Cologne can hardly be accounted for as his 'Wanderjahre,' since he already would have passed the age of 40 by that time.[22] Jacob Cornelisz probably started his career at the end of the 15th century not so much as a painter or as a printmaker and designer of woodcuts, but possibly as a woodcarver.[23] He must have already started painting before the start of the 16th century, however, since he was documented as such on January 16, 1500, when he was mentioned as the owner of a large house in the Amsterdam Kalverstraat, not very far from where the prominent banker and collector Pompejus Occo lived.[24] The first book printers arrived in Amsterdam in 1506,[25] and it was possibly as a printmaker that Jacob Cornelisz may have travelled in 1507 to the famous book and print fair in Frankfurt am Main and he may have lingered in Gelderland and Cologne for some time before heading towards Frankfurt.[26]

Unlike the *Noli me tangere* in Kassel, the sources for Jacob Cornelisz' *Crucifixion* are to be found closer to home, in Amsterdam itself. It has been suggested in the past that the anonymous Master of the Figdor Deposition may have been Jacob Cornelisz's teacher.[27] Two paintings that have been attributed to this master combine stylistic elements that we encounter in paintings by Geertgen tot Sint Jans and some of the early paintings by Jacob Cornelisz as well. One of those, *The Martyrdom of Saint Lucy*, bears a close affinity to Jacob Cornelisz' earliest paintings, but is much more dependent on the visual language of Geertgen tot Sint Jans in Haarlem, although the draughtsmanship-quality of the background figures is reminiscent of Jacob Cornelisz' early working method.[28] The facial types of the painting after which this anonymous master is named, the *Deposition*,[29] formerly Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, bear an even closer resemblance to those on Jacob Cornelisz' 1507 *Crucifixion*, reviving a discussion which was started by Baldass and Schretlen in 1937 and 1938 that the Master of the Figdor Deposition and the young Jacob Cornelisz were in fact identical personalities.[30] It must indeed be stated that these two paintings that were once part of the same altarpiece are not by the same hand as other paintings that are grouped under the name of this anonymous master, not even the *Crucifixion* in the Rijksmuseum (fig.48).[31] The recent attribution of another painting that was once considered to be by the Figdor Master to Jacob Cornelisz, *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* in the parish church of Saint Bartholomew in Poeldijk (fig.49), revives this discussion further, especially since its recent change of attribution is based on dendrochronological analysis. It turned out that this oak panel once formed an altarpiece wing with another panel with *Scenes from the life of Saint Hubert* in Berlin, a painting already given to Jacob Cornelisz in 1882 (fig.53).[32] Both panels were recently dated between 1500 and 1505, placing them at the beginning of Jacob Cornelisz's painting career, although I think a date around 1505 is more likely.[33] Whether *The Martyrdom of Saint Lucy* in Amsterdam and the lost *Deposition* are early paintings by Jacob Cornelisz or should remain the key paintings in the oeuvre of an unknown master painter from Haarlem or Amsterdam is a topic that awaits further discussion.

The Amsterdam *Crucifixion* (fig.48), still regarded by Châtelet to be by the same hand as the lost *Deposition* and *The Martyrdom of Saint Lucy*, is most likely a copy by a less talented hand after a lost original; the figure types are extremely close but clearly

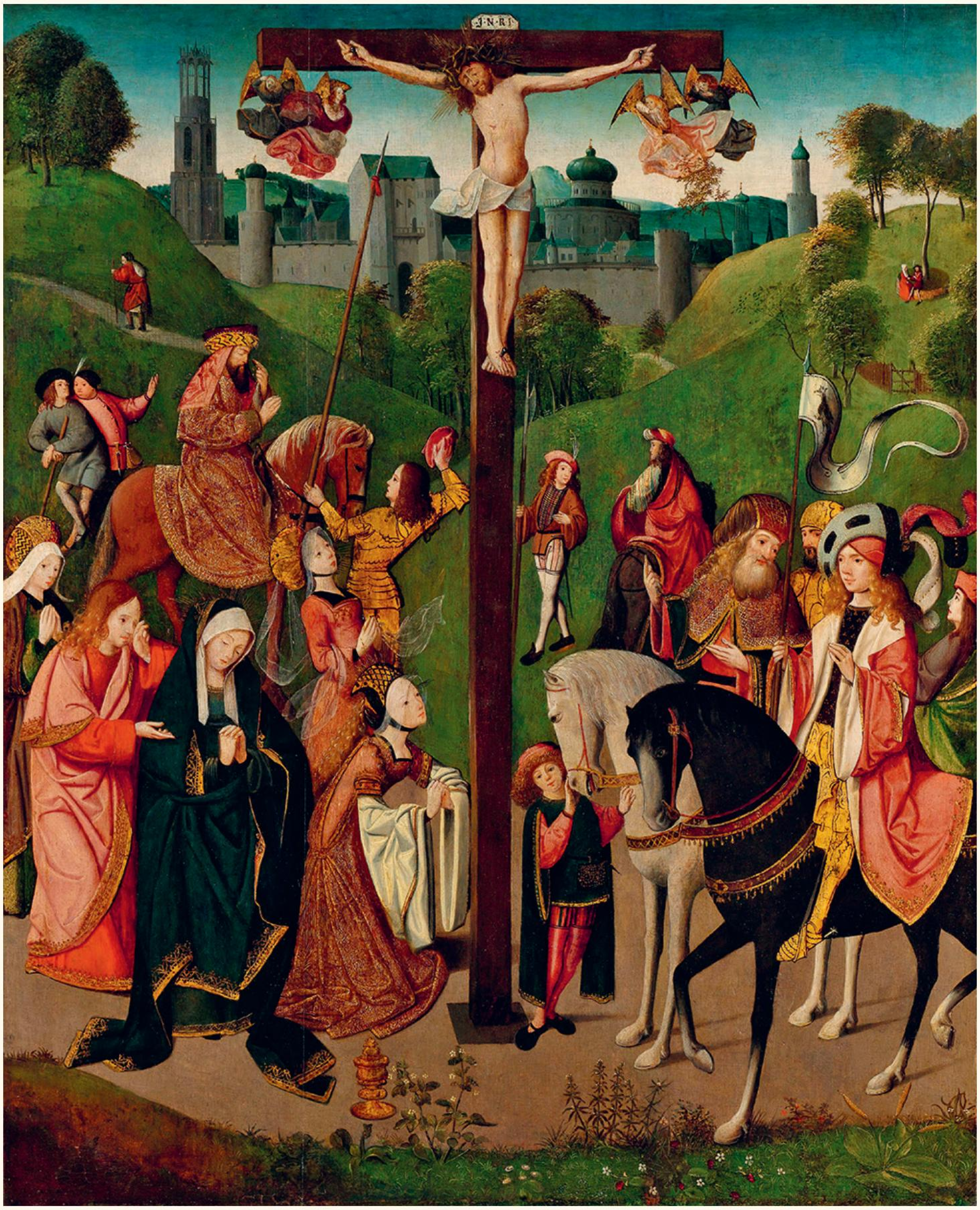


Fig. 48
Circle of the Master of the Figdor Deposition, *Crucifixion*, *c.*1505, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-2212

by a much weaker painter. That original must have been the most important source for Jacob Cornelisz' 1507 *Crucifixion*, an indication – I think – that the Master of the Figdor Deposition and the young Jacob Cornelisz are probably not identical. Jacob Cornelisz used the same division of the figure groups to the left and right of the cross. To the left Saint John, the mourning Virgin and the three Marys, as well as the blind Longinus with two standing shepherds and to the right the two men on horseback – the older centurion and the young elegant horseman – with additional standing soldiers. The landscape background, too, was transplanted to the 1507 *Crucifixion*: a V-shaped valley with hills and trees to the left and right and a grey and somewhat empty architectural view in its centre. The walled city of Jerusalem with the tower of Utrecht was transformed by Jacob Cornelisz into a castle-like complex, but the overall effect is identical.

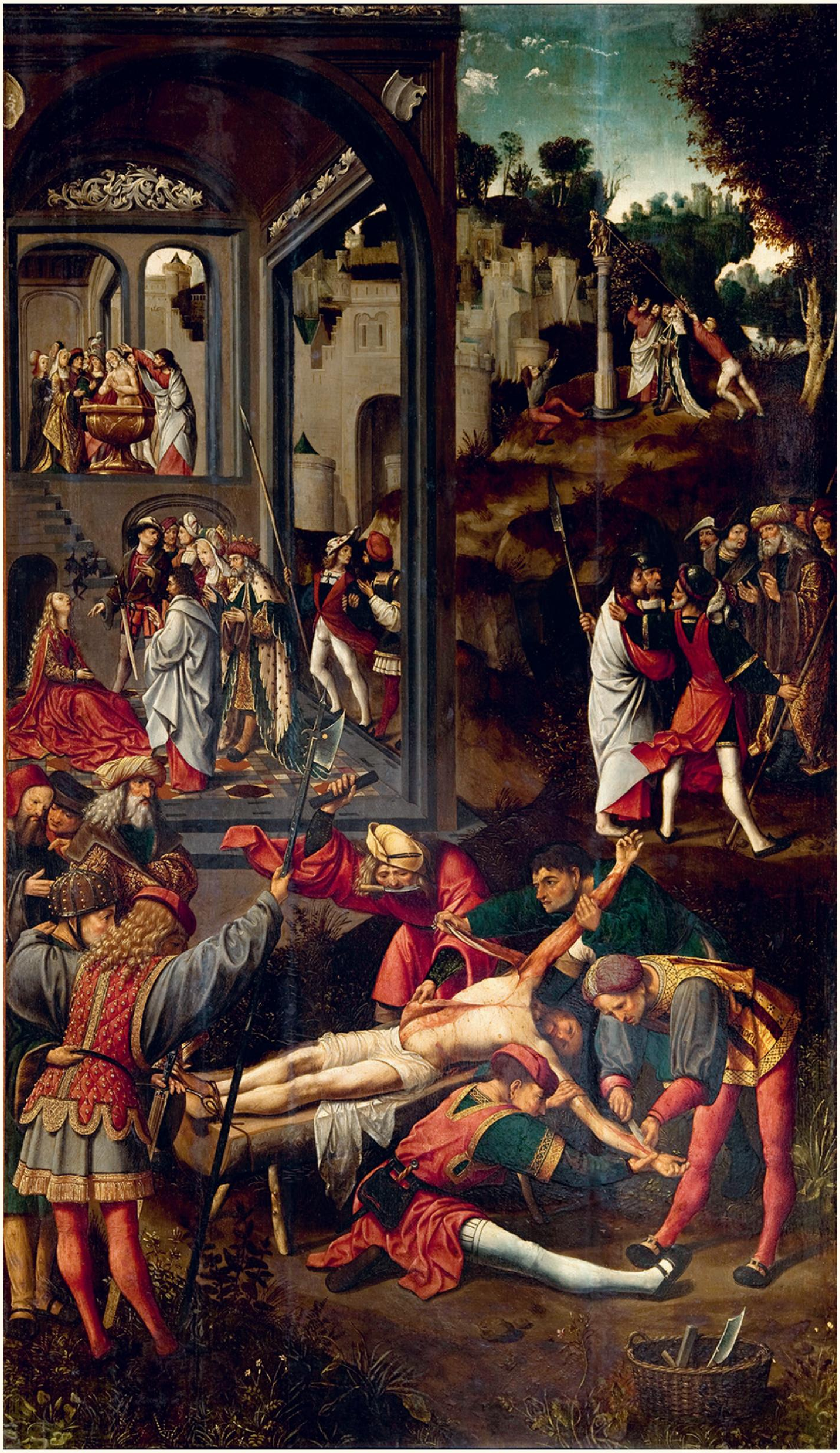


Fig.49
Attributed to Jacob Cornelisz, *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, *c.*1505, oil on panel (?), parish church of Saint Bartholomew, Poeldijk

THE CRUCIFIXION AMONGST CRUCIFIXIONS

Where does that leave our *Crucifixion*? As already stated, the painting is particularly close stylistically to *The Meeting of David and Abigail* in Copenhagen (fig.44), although it must have been painted before Jacob Cornelisz saw the altarpieces by the Bartholomew Master. The two early panels in Poeldijk and Berlin (figs.49, 53) can be dated earlier than the 1507 *Crucifixion*. In their sgrafitto-like painting technique and use of dark contours, they form a link with the *Crucifixion*, as stated by Bleyerveld and Meuwissen.[34]

Dorien Tamis made an overview of all painted Crucifixions that have been connected to Jacob Cornelisz and his studio, and she counted no less than 13.[35] Not all of them are by the master's hand, though. Some were the result of studio production, others were painted by later imitators outside the workshop. Tamis considered only five of them as autograph, whereas I regard only three of them as having been painted by Jacob Cornelisz himself. These are our *Crucifixion* of 1507, the later *Crucifixion* in Ghent of 1520–24,[36] and the much discussed *Crucifixion* in the Rijksmuseum (fig.50).[37] That painting should be dated to *c.* 1510–11, since it fits stylistically with the 1511 dated *Saint Jerome Altarpiece* in Vienna. That accounts especially for the monumentality of the figures and the facial types that diverge from the older heart-shaped prototypes of Geertgen tot Sint Jans we know so well from our 1507 *Crucifixion*.

A few other pictures are from Jacob Cornelisz's studio, including the *Crucifixion* in the Johnson collection in Philadelphia [38] or for that matter the painting in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht, the object of Dorien Tamis' publication.[39] One painting that deserves extra attention is the *Crucifixion* in the Liechtenstein Princely Collections in Vaduz (fig.51).[40] Regarded by both Tamis and Meuwissen as autograph,[41] the Vaduz picture is without doubt a later variation of our *Crucifixion*, carried out by a different painter, probably in the master's studio. The traditional date of *c.* 1517 has no firm backing and the only clue towards the actual date is the dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein that indicates a *terminus post quem* of 1501.[42] Close comparison between our 1507 dated *Crucifixion* and the Vaduz version indicates that the latter is inferior in quality and most certainly not by the artist's own hand. A good example is the head of Christ, where the painterly quality of Jacob Cornelisz's skilful hand has degenerated into a caricature by a much less able painter. The same is true when the two elegant horsemen are compared. Where the young man in the 1507 *Crucifixion* is painted with bravura, and is anatomically convincing with the horse brilliantly foreshortened, the man and rider in Vaduz are stiff, plump and no more than decorative caricatures. The underdrawing of the Vaduz *Crucifixion* is visible with the naked eye, especially underneath the flesh colouring of the *Corpus Christi*.[43] The scribbled lines underneath Christ's torso are very closely connected to those of the underdrawing of the crucified Christ in Utrecht,[44] and present a different hand to that of the draughtsman of the 1507 *Crucifixion*.

As has been stated earlier, Jacob Cornelisz may have been trained first as a wood carver, but must have started to take up painting in or shortly before 1500. His career as a printmaker probably started around 1505–06.[45] It is therefore useful to

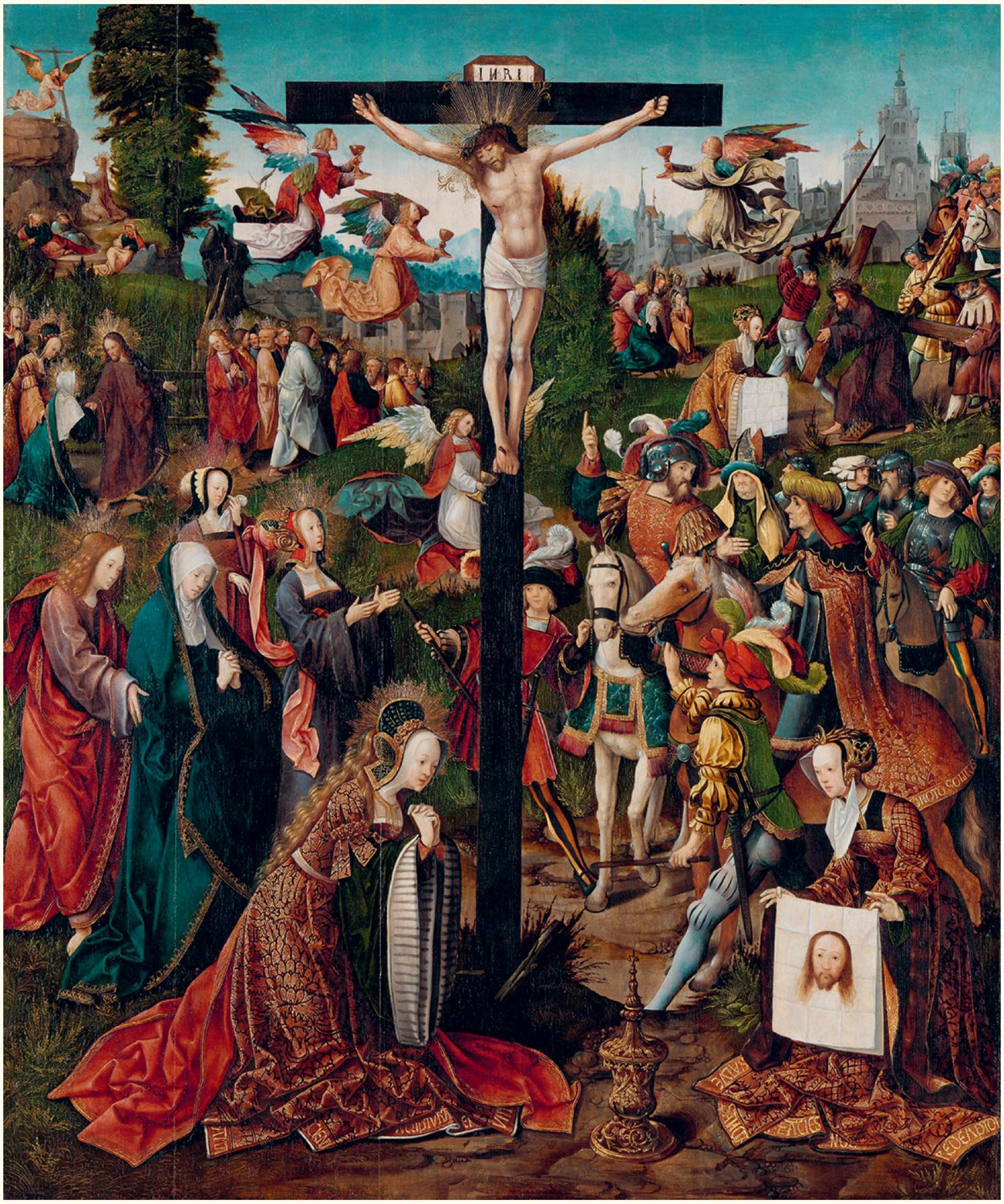


Fig.50
Jacob Cornelisz, *Crucifixion*, *c.*1510–11, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-1967

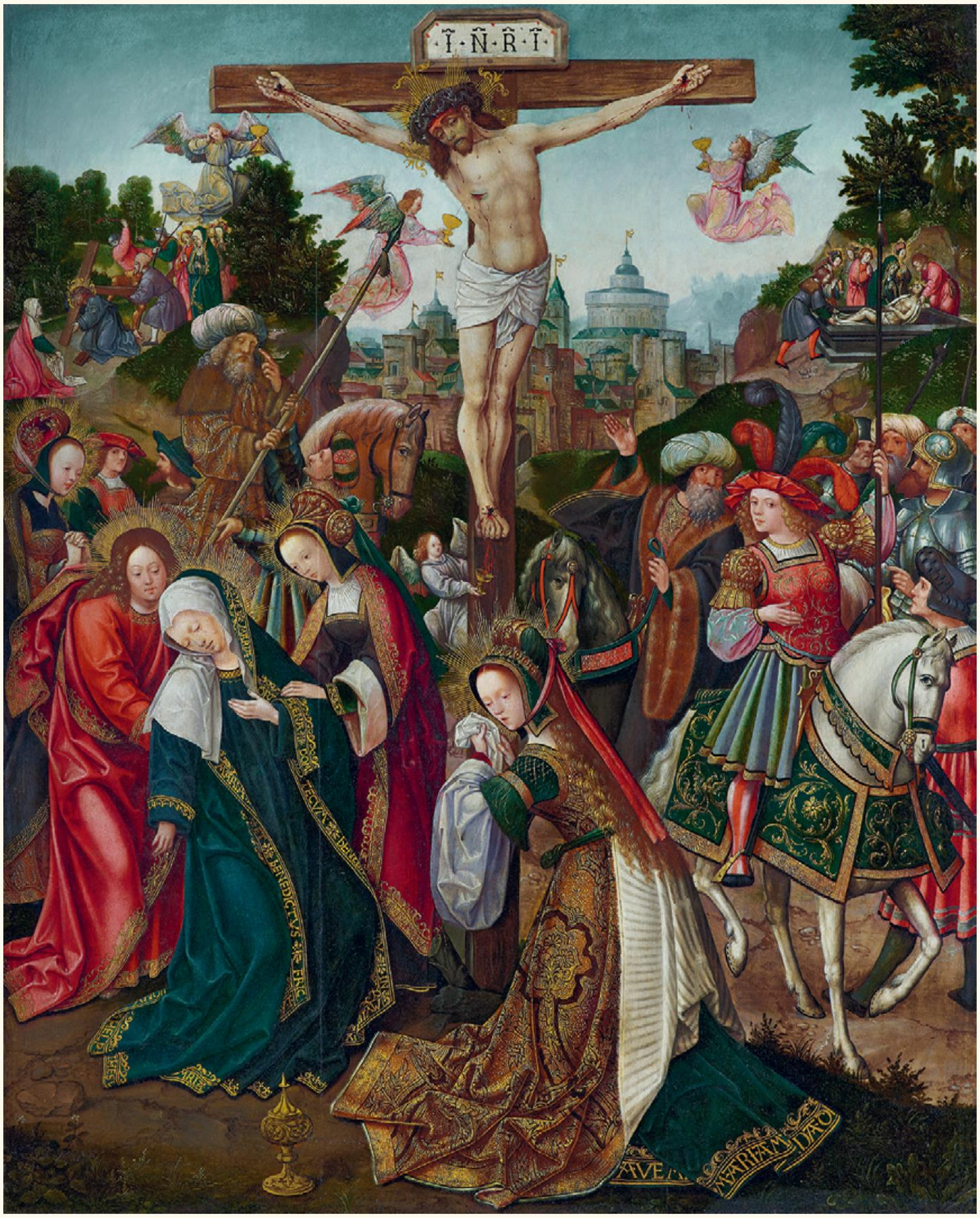


Fig. 51
Follower of Jacob Cornelisz, *Crucifixion*, after 1507, oil on panel, Liechtenstein Princely Collections, Vaduz, inv. no. G 938

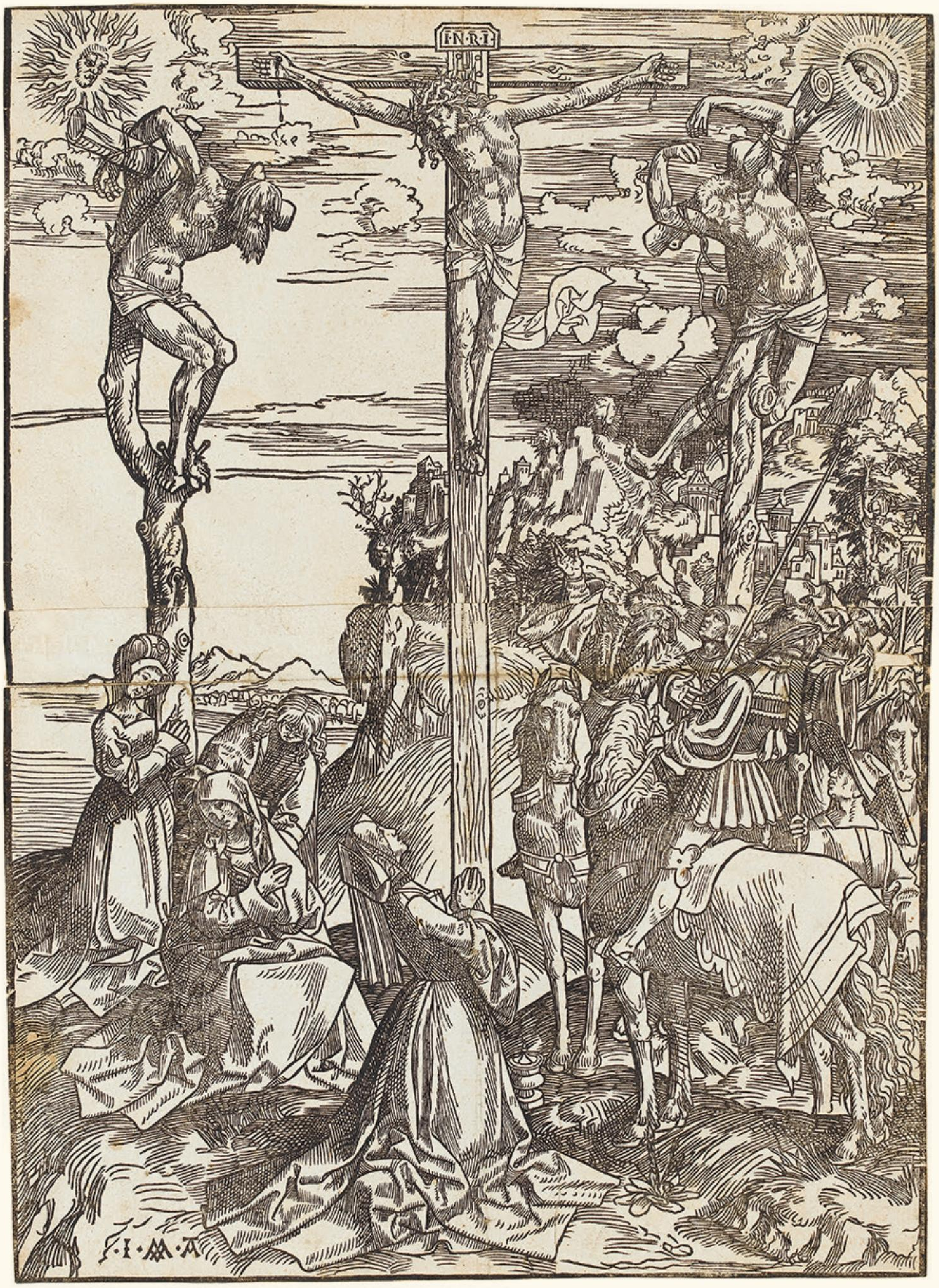


Fig.52
Jacob Cornelisz, *Crucifixion*, *c.*1511–12, woodcut signed with monogram, Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, inv. no. A 13394

focus on Daantje Meuwissen's suggestion that a signed, but undated woodcut, only known today from a single impression (fig.52), was apparently used as a model for several of the *Crucifixions* that left his studio.[46] It is most certainly true that Jacob Cornelisz's woodcuts were used as models in his studio and there are several other examples that corroborate this standard practice. A good example is the small fragment with the *Presentation in the temple* in an American private collection that is directly modeled after the 1513 woodcut by the artist,[47] but there are other examples as well.[48]

Meuwissen's hypothesis is only in part correct, though; some of the *Crucifixion* panels that are linked to the studio of Jacob Cornelisz are indeed connected to this interesting signed, but undated, woodcut in Stuttgart. For some of these pictures, however, such as our *Crucifixion* (fig.38) or for that matter the slightly later painting in Amsterdam (fig.50), no relation to the woodcut is apparent. The *Crucifixion* in Vaduz (fig.51) seems to have taken over the bearded horseman to the right, but that adaptation is superficial, as is the standardised position of Christ on the Cross, which is repeated time and again. The woodcut did serve as a direct model for the studio paintings in the Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht and the Johnson Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. In the former painting the two thieves and possibly the Magdalene were based on the woodcut,[49] whereas the painter of the Johnson picture took over several elements from it, among them the horseman and his horse in front and the figure of Saint John the Evangelist. Since there is no apparent link to Jacob Cornelisz's two early versions of the *Crucifixion*, the woodcut may therefore date from 1511–12, as had been suggested earlier.[50] The fact that the woodcut was actually copied in a pen drawing, probably by the artist's grandson Cornelis Anthonisz and produced between 1520 and 1535 in his grandfather's studio, is a clear indication for the continued use of this woodcut within the workshop production.[51]

JACOB CORNELISZ AND ALBRECHT DÜRER

There is not the slightest doubt that Jacob Cornelisz must have been familiar with Albrecht Dürer's engravings and woodcuts. Presumably his own activity as a designer of woodcuts motivated him to look beyond the limits of his own production and it may well be he came into contact with Dürer's prints at the Frankfurt Fair, where Agnes Frey sold many of her husband's prints and print cycles.[52] Already very early in his career Jacob Cornelisz looked to the great Nuremberg master for inspiration, as is shown by the galloping young Saint Hubert in the Berlin panel (fig.53) that was based entirely on Dürer's early woodcut *The Knight and the Landsknecht* (fig.54).[53] For another early painting, the *Holy Family* in Aachen, which was painted for Pompejus Occo in 1508 or 1509, Jacob Cornelisz borrowed in a creative manner from two early engravings by Albrecht Dürer. From the *Holy Family with the dragonfly* of *c.* 1495 (fig.3) he took over the sleeping Joseph, whereas the slightly later *Virgin and Child with a monkey* (fig.31) served as an overall model for the composition.[54] Throughout his career Albrecht Dürer's engravings and woodcuts would remain a rich source of inspiration for the Amsterdam painter and printmaker, and it is certainly possible that both artists met each other in Antwerp when Dürer visited the Low Countries in 1520–21. In his travel journal Dürer possibly referred to Jacob Cornelisz, when he wrote down in June 1521: 'Note: Did a charcoal portrait of Master Jakob, had a framed panel made for it for 6 stuivers and presented it to him.'[55]

For his 1507 *Crucifixion* Jacob Cornelisz was most certainly inspired by Albrecht Dürer's woodcut from the *Large Passion*, produced in 1497 or 1498 (fig.55).[56] Compared to the rather old-fashioned model of the *Crucifixion* of the Figdor Master (fig.48) with its passive lay-out of small figures around the cross, Dürer's dynamic display of movement, drama and bravura must have motivated the artist to move his figures much closer to the picture plane, to increase the interaction between them and heighten the emotional dynamic of his *Crucifixion*.

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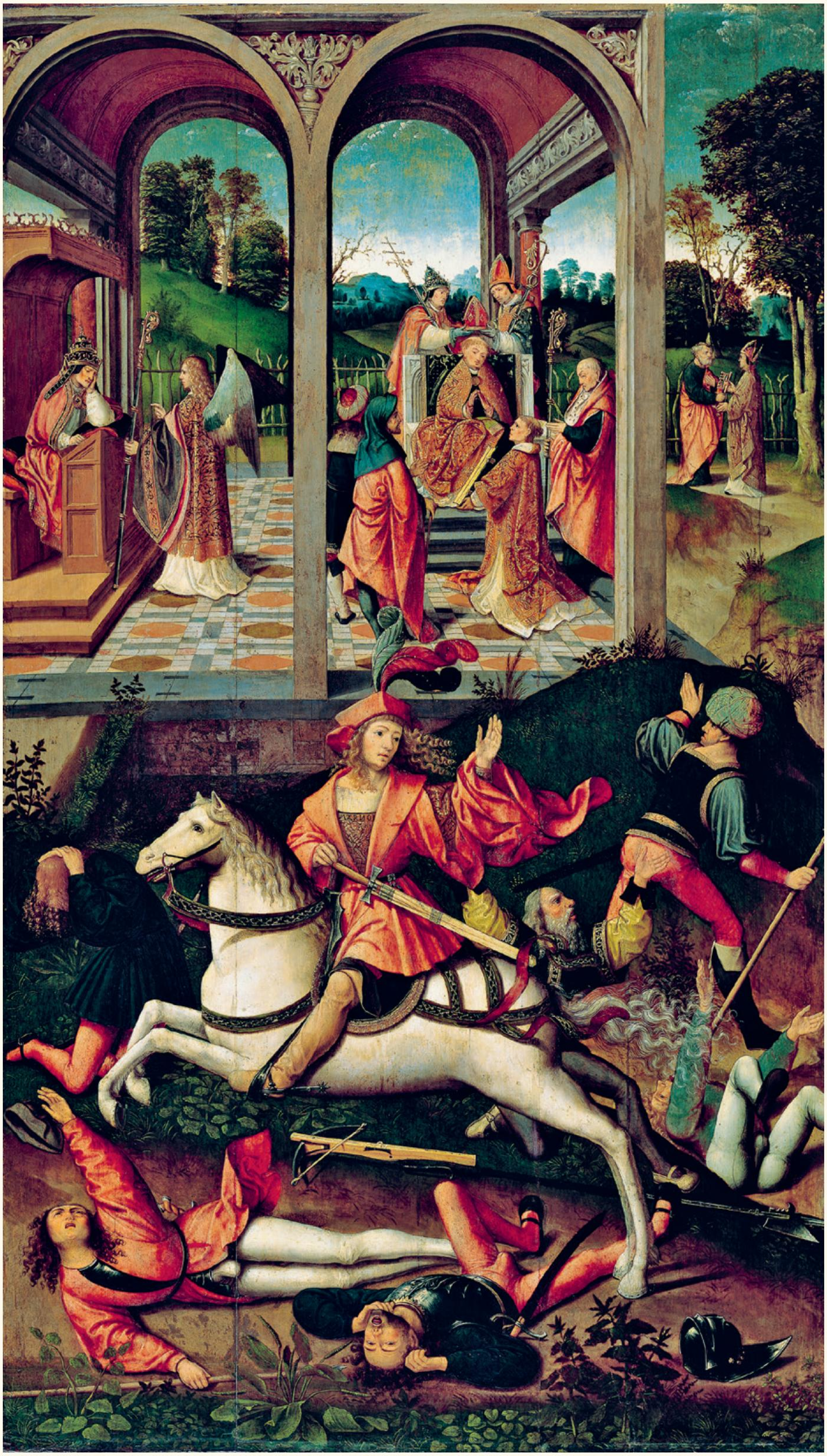


Fig. 53
Jacob Cornelisz, *Scenes from the life of St Hubert*, *c.*1505, oil on panel, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 604

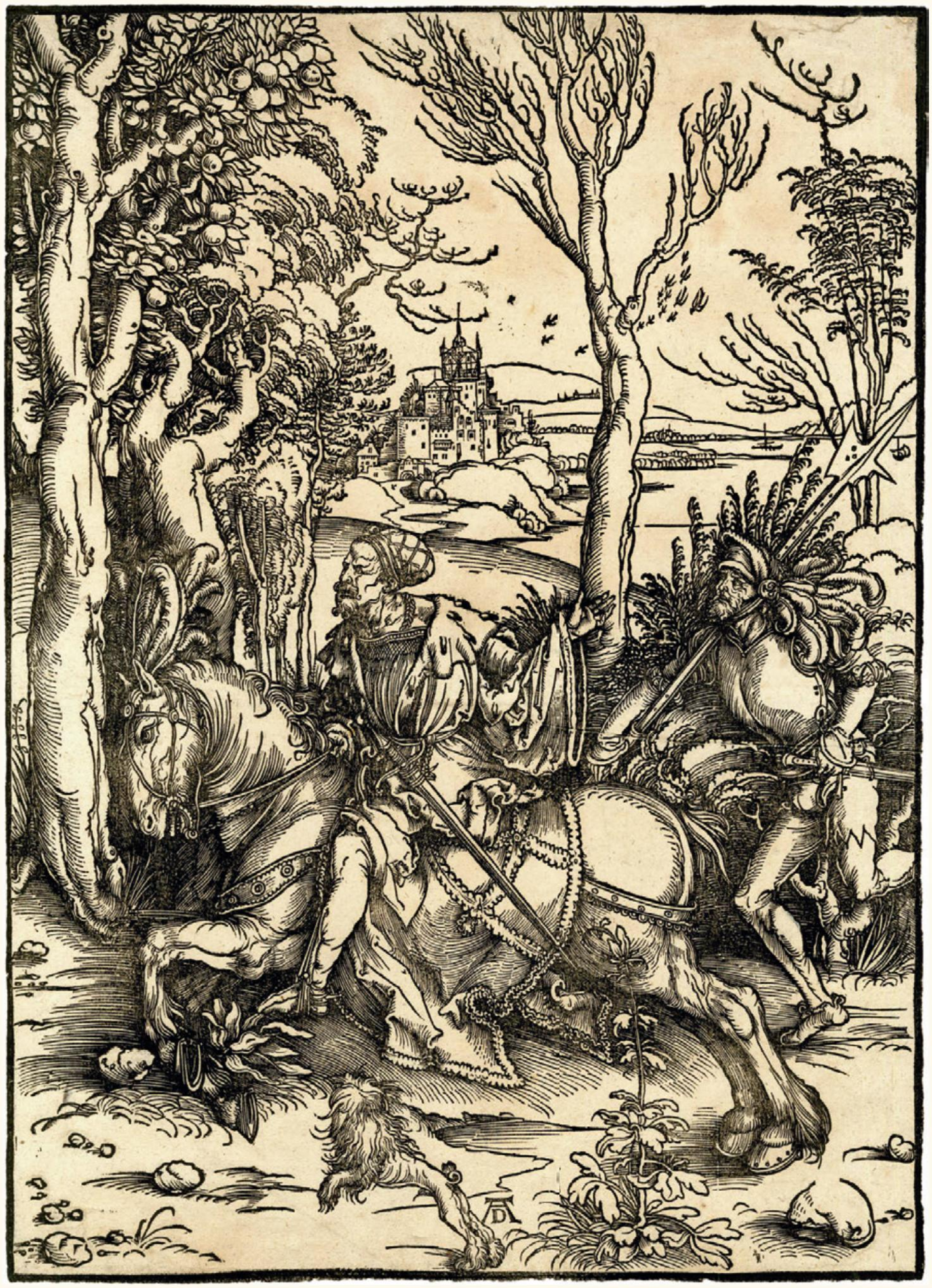


Fig.54
Albrecht Dürer, *The Knight and the Landsknecht*, *c*.1496, woodcut, British Museum, London, inv. no. E,2.377

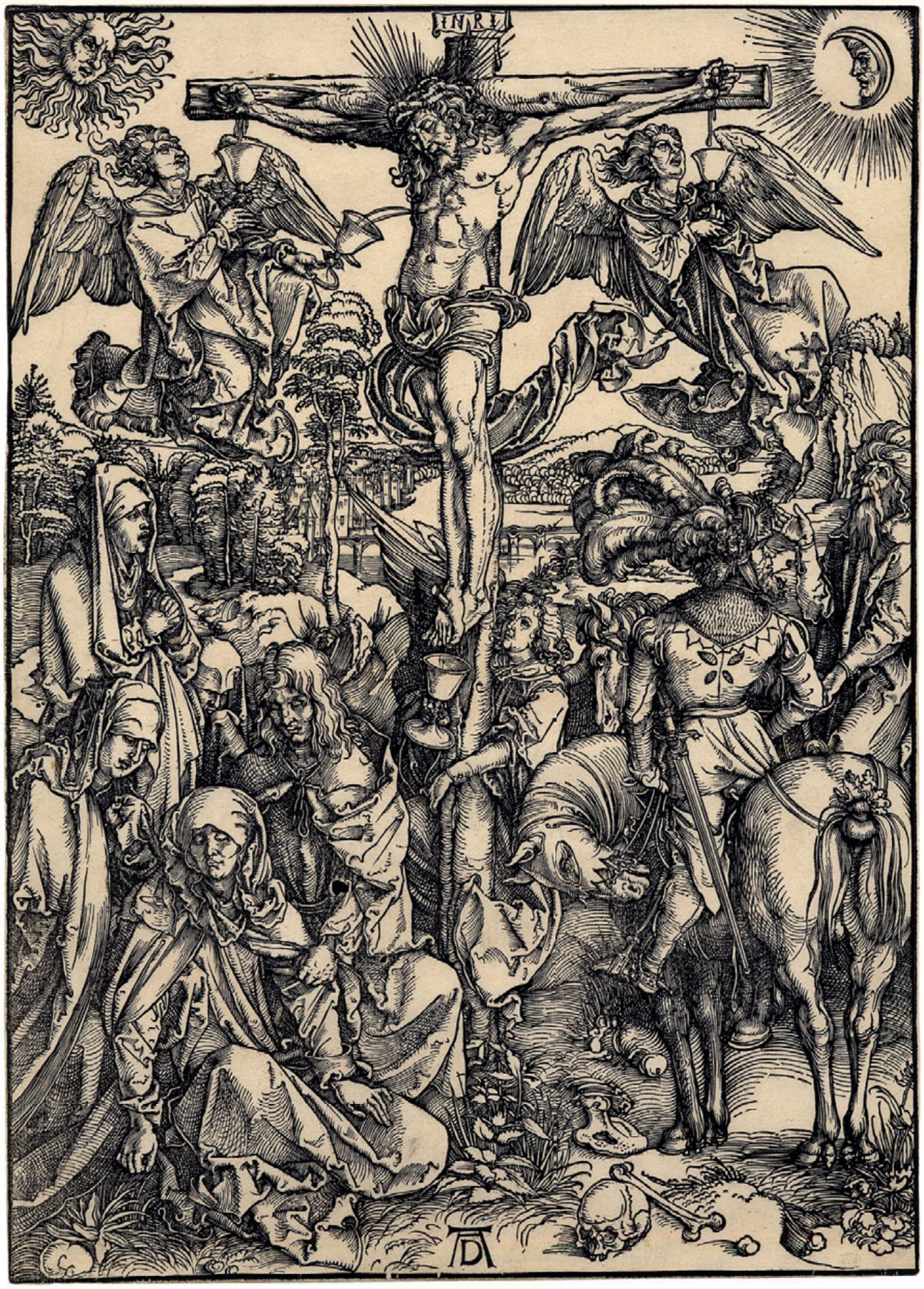


Fig. 55
Albrecht Dürer, *Crucifixion*, *c.*1497–98, woodcut from the *Large Passion*, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1895,0122.602

1 I am indebted to many colleagues in the preparation of this article and I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Daantje Meuwissen, Molly Faries, Henri Defoer, Anthony Crichton-Stuart, Giulia Bartrum, Nikolaus Karlson, Bertram Kaschek and Justus Lange.

2 On Jacob Cornelisz in general: Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck waer in Voor eerst de leerlustighe Iueght den grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst in Verscheyden deelen Wort Voorgedraghen. Daer nae ind dry deelen 't leven der vermaerde doorluchtighe Schilders des ouden, en nieuwen tyds. Eyntlyck d' wtlegghinghe op den METAMORPHOSEON pub. Ouïdij Naso nis Oock daerbeneffens wtbeeldinghe der figueren Alles dienstich en nut den schilders Constbeminders en dichters, oock allen staten van menschen*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 207r-v; K. Steinbart, *Die Tafelgemälde des Jakob Cornelisz. von Amsterdam*, Strassburg 1922; K. Steinbart, 'Nachlese im Werk des Jacob Cornelisz. von Amsterdam', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft V* (1929), pp.1–48; M. J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, 14 vols., Berlin-Leiden 1924–37 (Vol. XII, 1935), pp.96–111; K. Steinbart, *Das Holzschnittwerk des Jakob Cornelisz von Amsterdam*, Burg 1937; G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst*, 5 vols., The Hague 1936–47 (III, 1939), pp.72–143; I.H. van Eeghen, 'Jacob Cornelisz., Cornelis Anthonisz. en hun familierelaties', in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* XXXVII (1986), pp.95–132; J. L. Carroll, *The paintings of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (1472?–1533)*, diss., University of North Carolina 1987; A. Arbor 1987; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel & W.J. van den Berg, 'De schilders Jacob Corneliszn alias Jacob War en Cornelis Buys uit Oostzaan. Hun werkplaatsen in Amsterdam en Alkmaar', in *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 128 (2011), pp.49–79; D. Meuwissen et. al., *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (c.1475–1533). De Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar*, exh. cat. Amsterdam Museum & Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, Zwolle 2014.

3 D. Meuwissen, 'A 'Painter in Black and White': The Symbiotic Relationship Between the Paintings and Woodcuts of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen', in M. Faries (ed.), *Making and Marketing: Studies of the Painting Process in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Workshops*, Turnhout 2006, pp.55–81. The artist's name should be written as Jacob Cornelisz, as Y. Bleyerveld recently put forward: Y. Bleyerveld, 'Introduction. Jacob Cornelisz and his monumental woodcuts, 1507–c.1525', in New Hollstein D&F, 2019, p.XXV.

4 The painting was not known to Jacob Cornelisz' first biographer, M. J. Friedländer (*Early Netherlandish Painting, Vol. XII: Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coecke van Aelst*, New York/Washington 1975), nor to J. Carroll, who wrote the first monograph with catalogue raisonné on the artist. The picture was first published by A. Woollett in 1995 (New York, O. Naumann, Ltd, *Inaugural Exhibition of Old Master Paintings*, January 12–March 1, 1995, pp.16–20).

5 The painting was examined and documented with the aid of infrared reflectography on August 2nd, 2000, by D. Meuwissen and M. W. Ainsworth in New York, where the picture at the time resided as part of the collection of Hester Diamond.

6 Meuwissen 2006, pp.55, 61–65, Table 1, figs.5–6.

7 Meuwissen, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, p.175.

8 The equipment used here was an Osiris Camera with an InGaAs array sensor with an operation wavelength of 0.9–1.7µm and an object field of 200mm to infinity. The lens was a 6 element 150 mm focal length F/5.6–F45. The sub-images were automatically stitched together, so mosaic software did not have to be used. The documentation was carried out by K. Stonor of Tager Stonor Richardson.

9 Meuwissen 2006, p.64, Table 1.

10 Meuwissen 2006, pp.55, 69–71. On the Kassel *Noli me tangere*: Meuwissen, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, pp.172–173, no.3.

11 On the Copenhagen *Meeting of David and Abigail*: Meuwissen, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, pp.176–177, no.5.

12 Meuwissen 2006, pp.55, 70–71, fig.10 for the IRR mosaic of the Christ on the *Noli me tangere*. A more in-depth discussion on the early underdrawing type that was in use in the studio of Jacob Cornelisz and its variations in graphic mode is of the utmost importance, but then a complete IRR mosaic of the Kassel *Noli me tangere*, as well as those of the Mayer van den Bergh *Man of Sorrows* and the privately owned triptych of the same subject, plus the early panels in Poeldijk and Berlin would need to be made available.

13 I would like to thank J. Skou-Hansen of the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen for allowing me access to the IRR mosaic of *The Meeting of David and Abigail*.

14 Peter van den Brink, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, pp.180–181, no.7.

15 On the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece, U. Nürnberger, *The Late Medieval Workshop of the Master of the St. Bartholomew Altar: An Investigation of Underdrawings and Paintings*, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1997; R. Budde and R. Krischel (eds.), *Genie ohne Namen. Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars*, exh. cat. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne 2001.

16 R. Krischel, 'Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars. Porträt eines Unbekannten', in exh. cat. Cologne 2001, pp.13–25. Not much is known about this anonymous painter, although early in his career he may have worked as a manuscript illuminator in the Netherlands, visible in his fluid paint handling and sparkling treatment of decorative details. H. Defoer, as Krischel (*ibid.*, pp.21–22) before him, placed the domicile of the artist in Arnhem or, more likely even, in Nijmegen, not in Cologne: H. L.M. Defoer, 'Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars und die Kunst der nördlichen Niederlande. Betrachtungen anlässlich einer Ausstellung', in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 64 (2003), pp.234–236.

17 In an unpublished text, Defoer has suggested that the painter of the *Noli me tangere* was certainly active in the studio of Jacob Cornelisz, but not identical with that master. Defoer suggested it may have been a travelling painter that was trained in the workshop of the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece: vergelijking van de aan Jacob Cornelisz toegeschreven Noli me Tangere met diens David en Abigael.pdf (defoer.nl). Although I regard this as an interesting possibility that should not be dismissed, I do think that it was Jacob Cornelisz himself that was responsible for the Kassel picture.

18 National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, inv. no. 1961.9.78. This painting was possibly made for the High Altar of the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Arnhem, where Jacob Cornelisz may have seen it. On this altarpiece, J. O. Hand, *The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue. German Paintings of the Fifteenth through Seventeenth Centuries*, Cambridge 1993, pp.133–140; B. Corley, *Painting and Patronage in Cologne, 1300–1500*. Turnhout, 2000, pp.46, 233–236, figs.200–202; R. Krischel, in exh. cat. Cologne 2001, pp.446–447, no.97.

19 Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 1445. Nürnberger, in exh. cat. Cologne 2001, pp.402–403, no.75.

20 Philadelphia Museum of Art, The John G. Johnson Collection, inv. no. JC 744. U. Nürnberger, 'A Newly Discovered Work by the Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altarpiece', in L. Helmus & P. van

den Brink (eds.), *Album Discipulorum J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer*, Zwolle 1997, pp.155–163; Nürnberger, in exh. cat. Cologne 2001, pp.406–407, no. 77.

21 Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, inv. no. WRM 180. F. G. Zehnder, *Kataloge des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums. XI*: *Katalog der altkölner Malerei*, Köln 1990, pp.433–441; Corley 2000, pp.241–245; R. Krischel, in exh. cat. Cologne 2001, pp.376–377, no. 62.

22 Bleyerveld (Bleyerveld 2019, p.XXII) and Dudok van Heel (S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Het onmogelijke geboortejaar *c*.1475 van de Amsterdamse schilder Jacob Cornelisz (*c*.1460–1533) met de imaginaire achternaam Van Oostsanen', in *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 131 (2014), p.183) have recently suggested a birth date for the artist between 1460 and 1465. Karel van Mander, the first biographer of Jacob Cornelisz was unaware of his date of birth, but stated that in 1512, when Jan van Scorel started as his pupil, the master already had some older children, among them Dirk Jacobsz, who may have been born around 1498. See Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe Iueght den grondt der edel vry schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorghedraghen*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 207 r & v.

23 H. Leeflang, 'Het Amsterdamse prentbedrijf van Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen', in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, pp.128-130; Bleyerveld 2019, p.XXIII.

24 Van Eeghen 1986, p.97; D. Meuwissen 2006, p.55; D. Meuwissen, 'Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen. Het leven van een vroege Hollandse kunstenaar', in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, pp.93–94. Jacob Cornelisz' main occupation shortly after 1500 as a painter in Amsterdam has been confirmed by an inscription, dated 1502, in a copy of the Delft Bible of 1477, now in The Morgan Library in New York: 'Dit bouck hoert toe Jacob cornelisz die scilder wonende in die calverstraet'. See Bleyerveld 2019, p.XXIV, fig.2 (p.XXII).

25 Especially Bleyerveld 2019, pp.XXVI–XXVIII.

26 On Frankfurt am Main as the centre of book printing and print making in the early 16th century, especially D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550*, New Haven & London 1994, pp.349–350; A. G. Stewart, 'The Importance of Frankfurt Printing before 1550. Sebald Beham Moves from Nuremberg to Frankfurt', in M. H. Kirch, B. U. Münch, A. G. Stewart (eds.), *Crossroads: Frankfurt am Main as Market for Northern Art 1500–1800*, Petersberg 2019, pp.18–40.

27 This was suggested by Valentiner and Friedländer. Baldass and Schretlen even suggested the paintings by the Figdor Master were early works by Jacob Cornelisz himself. On these references, M. Leeflang, in F. Lammertse, J. Giltaij (eds.), *Schilderkunst van de late Middeleeuwen. Vroege Hollanders*, exh. cat. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam 2008, p.191; Meuwissen, in *ibid*., p.198. Hoogewerff identified this anonymous Master of the Figdor Deposition as Jan Gerritsz Swegher, who died in Haarlem, 1514. Unfortunately, that painter is only known from archival documents. See Hoogewerff 1936–47, II (1937), pp.216–218. M. Leeflang, in exh. cat. Rotterdam 2008, pp.192–195, no.30.

28 The *Deposition* was once part of the collection of Albert Figdor

29 in Vienna (hence the name) and was bought at a Berlin auction in 1930 by Steinmeier for the Kaiser Friedrich-Museum (now Bode-Museum) in Berlin (inv. no. 2108). The painting was likely among those that were burned in Friedrichshain in May 1945: R. Michaelis, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Dokumentation der Verluste: Band 1 Gemäldegalerie*, Berlin 1995, p.47, no.2108.

30 L. Baldass, 'Die niederländischen Maler des spätgotischen Stiles', in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien 9* (1937), p.119; M.J. Schretlen, 'Vroeg werk van Jacob Cornelisz.', in *Oud Holland* 55 (1938), p.153. Their hypothesis was opposed by Irene Kunze and later by Albert Châtelet, who added several other paintings to the oeuvre of this anonymous master, although these additions are clearly by different hands (I. Kunze, 'Neuerwerbungen Niederländischer Gemälde', in *Berliner Museen. Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 60 (1939), pp.8–13; A. Châtelet, *Early Dutch painting: painting in the northern Netherlands in the fifteenth century*, Amsterdam 1981, pp.136, 138–140, 144, 227–228). For an overview, Leeflang, in exh. cat. Rotterdam 2008, pp.191–195.

31 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-2212. Châtelet 1981, p.228, no.107; M. Leeflang, in Jan Piet Filedt Kok (ed.), *Early Netherlandish Paintings*, online coll. cat. Amsterdam: hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.9037 (accessed 6 November 2021).

32 L. Scheibler, 'Die Gemälde von Jacob Cornelisz van Amsterdam, des Monogrammisten IAW', in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 3 (1882), p.21; Bleyerveld and Meuwissen, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, p.168.

33 Bleyerveld and Meuwissen, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, pp.166–168, no. 1a. Dendrochronological examination by Dr. Peter Klein took place in 2007 (Poeldijk) and 2008 (Berlin) and showed that both pictures once formed a single panel, but were split, somewhere before 1821, when the Berlin painting was documented in the collection of Edward Solly.

34 Bleyerveld and Meuwissen, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, p.168.

35 D. Tamis, in Liesbeth M. Helmus, *Catalogue of Paintings 1363–1600 Centraal Museum Utrecht*, Utrecht 2011, pp.108–111.

36 Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, inv. no. 1904C. H. Pauwels, 'Twee Hollandse Meesters uit de vroege zestiende eeuw', in A. Balis a.o. (eds.), *200 Jaar verzamelen. Collectieboek Museum voor Schone Kunsten Gent*, Ghent/Amsterdam 2000, pp.61–64, fig.18; N. E. Middelkoop, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, pp.272–273, no.53; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Het hoogaltaar in de Oude Kerk door Jan van Scorel en Maerten van Heemskerck 1525–1537–1566', in *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 110 (2018), p.64, fig.5a.

37 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-1967. Meuwissen, in Jan Piet Filedt Kok (ed.), Early Netherlandish Paintings, online coll. cat. Amsterdam: hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.8173 (accessed 5 November 2021); Meuwissen, M. Ubl, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, pp.194–195, no.12.

38 Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, inv. no. 409.

39 Centraal Museum, Utrecht, inv. no. 27855. See D. Tamis in Helmus 2011, pp.108–114, no.8.

40 Princely Collections Liechtenstein, Vaduz, inv. no. G 938. On this picture, Carroll 1987, p.175; Meuwissen 2006, pp.58–60, fig.4.

41 Meuwissen 2006, pp.58–60, fig.4.

42 Report by Dr. Peter Klein, 27 May 2012. The report is at the RKD, The Hague (WL GE938-0ef504f0-c42e-003e-7321-f2b40664937f (rkd.nl)).

43 The painting has not yet been examined nor documented with the aid of infrared reflectography, but there is an infrared photograph that displays a careful and precise underdrawing that completely differs from the free sketch underneath the painted surface of the 1507 *Crucifixion*. I am grateful to Michael Schweller of the Princely Collections for giving me access to the IR photograph of the painting.

44 For the published IRR composite of the Utrecht *Crucifixion*, Tamis, in Helmus 2011, p.113, fig.4.

45 I do not share Meuwissen's conviction that the absence of a painter's mark or monogram on his pictures before 1523 – the first known monogram can be found on the 1523 dated All Saints Altarpiece in Kassel – is proof of his more prominent status as a print maker, meaning 'Jacob Cornelisz was a print maker first and a painter second' (Meuwissen 2006, p.56). His status as a painter, long before 1523, must have been monumental, given the important commissions he received. Signing his woodcuts was a routine matter, meant to make his work better known and to protect his mark. In his lifetime, those that mattered to Jacob Cornelisz – his clients in Amsterdam, Utrecht and the county of Holland – most certainly knew his altarpieces and devotional paintings. Signatures, therefore, were hardly relevant.

46 Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, inv. no. A 13394. Meuwissen 2006 (o.c. note 3), p.58, fig.3, and H. Leeflang, 'Het Amsterdamse prentbedrijf van Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen', in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, p.133; Ilona van Tuinen, in *ibid*., pp.273–274.

47 P. van den Brink, in *ibid*., pp.222–223, no.28.

48 Such as the recently resurfaced *Resurrection*, that is based on one of the woodcuts from the Round Passion, produced between 1511 and 1514, published in 1517. On that painting P. van den Brink, 'A Resurrection rediscovered. The Resurrection of Christ by Jacob Cornelisz (Oostzaan *c.*1460/65–1533 Amsterdam)', Johnny van Haeften Old Master Paintings, London 2022.

49 Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, inv. no. ABM s87. M. Leeflang, in exh. cat. Alkmaar/Amsterdam 2014, pp.212–213, no.23.

50 Steinbart 1937, p.36, no.19.

51 Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 2594. On this drawing, I. van Tuinen, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014 (o.c. note 2), pp.273–274, no.54.

52 C. Schleif, 'Albrecht Dürer between Agnes Frey and Willibald Pirkheimer', in L. Silver and J. Chipps Smith (eds.), *The Essential Dürer*, Philadelphia 2010, p.187; S. Foister, 'Dürers frühe Reisen: Tatsachen und Legenden', in P. van den Brink (ed.), *Dürer war hier. Eine Reise wird Legende*, exh. cat. Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen 2021, p.102. In a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer, dated January 6th, 1506, Dürer refers to the sale of his prints at the Frankfurt fair through his wife Agnes: Ashcroft, p.137; For the famous letter by Johannes Cochlaeus to Willibald Pirckheimer, dated April 5th, 1520, on the prints by Lucas van Leyden and Albrecht Dürer at the Frankfurt Fair: Landau & Parshall 1994, p.349; Stewart 2019, pp.30–31; C. Vogelaar, 'Lucas van Leyden und Albrecht Dürer', in exh. cat. Aachen 2021, pp.527–528, fig.361.

53 Bleyerveld & Meuwissen, in exh. cat. Amsterdam/Alkmaar 2014, p.168. The woodcut presented here is in the British Museum in London (inv. no. E,2.377). R. Schoch, M. Mende, A. Scherbaum, *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk*, 3 vols., Munich 2001–2004, vol.2, no.106.1. The traditional German title is *Ritter und Landsknecht* and the woodcut from *c.*1496 was popular from the start, resulting in several early copies.

54 British Museum, London, INV. NOS. E,4.50 and 1868,0822.177, respectively. On these two 'Early Virgins', Schoch et. al. 2001–2004, vol.1, nos.2 and 20.

55 Ashcroft, p.584 (I have not taken over Ashcroft's translation to the letter, simply because it contains various mistakes.) Dürer portrayed a 'Master Jakob' no less than three times, no doubt a different one each time. One of these was Jacob Claesz van Utrecht ('Master Jakob of Lübeck'), who sat for Dürer in September 1520 and shortly thereafter the latter portrayed '… Master Jakob, von Rogendorf's painter, …' (*ibid*., p.562). On the painter Jacob van Utrecht, who was active in Lübeck, R. Grosshans, *Bilder im Blickpunkt. Jacob van Utrecht – Der Altar von 1513*, Berlin-Dahlem 1982.

56 Meder 120, Schoch et al, 2001–4, vol.2, no.161.

Dürer and Raphael – Raphael and Dürer

DAVID EKSERDJIAN

It was Goethe, in one of his conversations with Johann Peter Eckermann, who remarked that 'Men like Raphael don't just pop out of the ground',[1] while more specifically Lodovico Dolce claimed that 'Raphael was not ashamed to have Dürer's prints stuck up in his studio, and praised them highly.'[2] In tackling the relationship between these two great artists, which can unquestionably be approached in a whole variety of ways, I will endeavour to confine myself to what I would like to think are incontrovertible connections.

In looking at Raphael and Dürer, it seems important to broaden the discussion in two principal directions: firstly, by assessing the extent to which Raphael was a student of other art; and secondly, by seeing his response to Dürer against the background of Dürer's more general influence on Italian art. Before doing so, however, I want to make one final preliminary observation, namely to underline the fact that Dürer himself was a great learner from other works of art, above all perhaps from Mantegna's prints and that there is consequently something entirely fitting about the fact that so many owed so much to Dürer.[3]

A great deal of excellent work has been devoted to Raphael's interaction with what might be dubbed the usual suspects such as Leonardo and Michelangelo, and cumulatively it should convince even the most sceptical of his profound and – I would contend – exceptional interest in the works of other artists. In the case of the Antique, whole books have been written on the subject, but it seems clear that there are even more connections to be discovered.[4]

Raphael was evidently quite particular about what he looked at in Dürer's oeuvre, and that different things appealed at different times. In consequence, I will adopt a roughly chronological approach, and endeavour to bear in mind Rolf Quednau's useful division of Dürer's influence into compositions (which also embraces iconographic types), single figures and groups, and 'Requisiten' (which means theatre props) and background landscapes. The only category I would wish to add is animals, always assuming they do not count as 'Requisiten'. The Italians happily pilfered Dürer's animals, as any number of simian and doggy examples by a whole array of artists amply demonstrate, and so – at least once – did Raphael.[5]

In spite of some suggestions to the contrary, Raphael's early mentors were not especially indebted to Dürer, although I do believe the dog in the foreground of Pintoricchio's Piccolomini Library fresco of the *Departure of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini for Basel*, who is absent from Raphael's drawing for the same work, is adapted from one of the hunting hounds in Dürer's *Saint Eustace*, which were a favourite source.[6] In any event, there can be no doubt concerning the derivation of the wild boar chargers of the putti in a pair of cartoon fragments in Chantilly from Dürer's *Prodigal Son* engraving of 1497, although the question of precisely which one he copied is less straightforward.[7] The most recent Chantilly catalogue claims that he looked to Dürer's preparatory drawing, but this is not so: what he did was to single out the two piglets in the bottom left-hand corner and then reverse one of them.[8] In addition – and this is indeed extraordinary in the context of apparent labour-saving – he then gave it the snarling profile of the most prominent of the adult swine. I know of no later animal borrowings from Dürer by Raphael, but he may have encouraged his pupils to study this aspect of the master, if Perino del Vaga's appropriation of the head of the unicorn in the *Abduction of a Young Woman* etching – yet again in reverse – is anything to go by.[9]

Assuming the Chantilly fragments date from around 1503, then they must be among the earliest Italian echoes of Dürer, for all that Michelangelo's – in my opinion lost – variation on the theme of Martin Schongauer's *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, as well as the related painting from the ambit of Domenico Ghirlandaio in Fort Worth, nowadays increasingly hailed as by Michelangelo, are earlier.[10] The jousting putti must be approximately contemporary with the drawings for the *Norton Simon Madonna*, whose connection with the background landscape of Dürer's *Saint John Chrysostom* engraving was convincingly established by Quednau, who also rightly stressed its gradual digestion and adaptation by Raphael, to the point where in the painting the source is far from obvious.[11] More generally, Quednau is inclined to see Dürer backgrounds everywhere, and I find myself unable to follow him. Perhaps the problem for Raphael was that he could not countenance borrowing either entities or details that would stick out like the proverbial sore thumb: everything had to make sense, so he would never, for instance, have transplanted the sort of incongruous single figures who invade some of Andrea del Sarto's Chiostro dello Scalzo frescoes,[12] or used groups of figures as colourful background vignettes in the way Bartolomeo Veneto does with both Dürer and Lucas van Leyden,[13] or indeed transformed whole prints into fictive decorations in the manner of the borrowing by an artist close to Bernardino Luini of the *Temptation* and the *Expulsion* from the *Small Passion* in an *Annunciation* in the Brera.[14]

This does not mean that Raphael was indifferent to Dürer's lansquenets and exotics, however, just that they needed to be absorbed into his world. His main inspiration was Dürer's *Five Lansquenets and an Oriental on Horseback*, although he may also have had recourse to the *Young Lady on Horseback and Lansquenet*.[15] The former was his source for the soldier leaning on his pike in the Vatican *Adoration of the Magi* from the Oddi *Coronation of the Virgin*, as Quednau recognised, the only significant difference in attitude being the crossing of the legs.[16] The same engraving also inspired the group of soldiers in a Raphael drawing in the Ashmolean used in the fresco of the *Coronation of Aeneas Silvius* in the Piccolomini Library.[17] Furthermore, for the soldier with his legs wide apart, who is seen from the front here, Raphael may additionally have drawn upon his virtual *Doppelgänger* in the other engraving. The *Five Lansquenets* was used a third time for the soldier with a pike seen from the rear in the National Gallery's *Road to Calvary* predella panel from the *Colonna Altarpiece*, albeit with a degree of reversal, most obviously in the position of the legs.[18] It goes without saying, incidentally, that artists like Raphael and Dürer must have been highly accomplished at seeing figures in the round in their mind's eye, so that it is no surprise to find figures imagined from the other side, so to speak. In all these instances, Raphael modified the figures' attire, although there are certainly details of costume and especially of headgear that look Germanic or northern, and it is tempting to wonder if Raphael may not have been intrigued by Dürer's near-fetish of representing male bystanders with wide-brimmed hats pulled down over their faces.[19] A decade or so later, he appears to have drawn inspiration from both the cap with trailing ties and the plump physiognomy of a bystander in Dürer's *Christ before Pilate* from the *Small Engraved Passion* for the man standing behind Saint Paul in the *Preaching at Athens*.[20]

After his move to Florence, in the main Raphael had other fish to fry. In the case of the Louvre *Saint Michael*, which is arguably on the cusp between Umbria and Florence, a generic inspiration from northern art seems hard to doubt, but the closest association would appear to be between the head of Lucifer in the panel and the heads of the dragon in Dürer's *Apocalyptic Woman* woodcut from his *Apocalypse* series.[21] Opinion is likewise divided concerning whether the *Terranuova Madonna* (fig.56) is a product of Raphael's beginnings in Florence or not.[22] At first glance, it may seem tempting to suppose that it is, because the figure group is closely similar to that in the *Madonna di Piazza* in nearby Pistoia, an altarpiece which is generally agreed to have been executed from the late 1470s to around 1485 by Andrea del Verrocchio with substantial assistance from Lorenzo di Credi.[23]

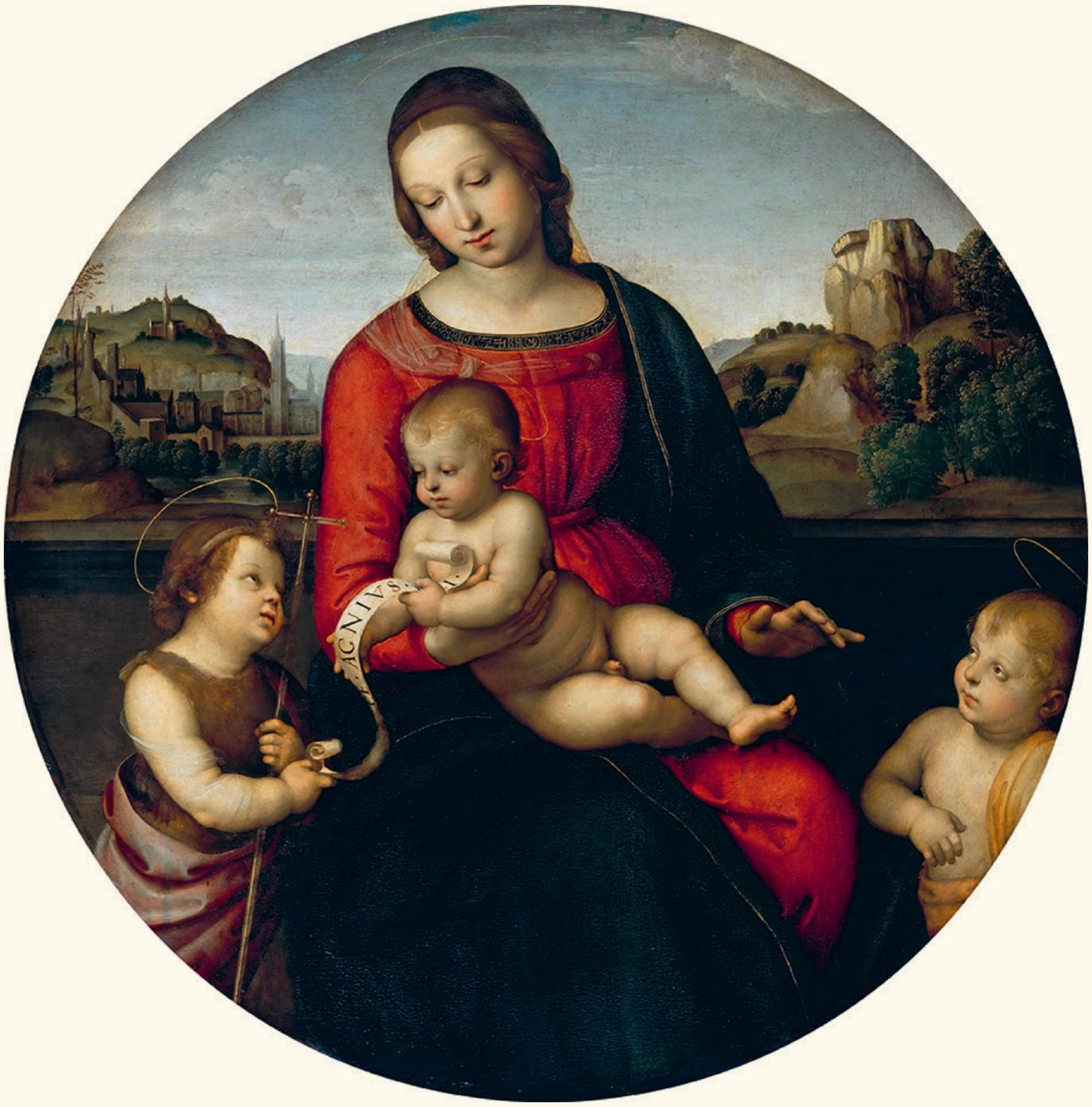


Fig.56
Raphael, *Terranuova Madonna*, *c.*1505, oil on panel, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 247A

However, a complicating factor is represented by Albrecht Dürer's engraving of the *Virgin and Child with a Monkey* of around 1497–98 (fig.31).[24] Here – for all that they are translated into Dürer's gothic language of forms – the overall attitudes of the figures in the Pistoia altarpiece are closely echoed, but the Virgin's extended left arm and hand are totally different, and are undeniably emulated by Raphael, who could perfectly well have known the print in Umbria before moving to Florence. The only incontrovertibly Florentine exception is the *Saint George* now in Washington, which has been linked with Dürer's *Small Courier* engraving.[25]

Raphael returns to Dürer in Rome, but does so in a rather different spirit. The first influence from these years emerges in the Muse Calliope to the immediate right of Apollo in the fresco of *Parnassus* in the Stanze (fig.57), who appears to be inspired by study of the female figure in Dürer's *Satyr Family* engraving of 1505 (fig.58) as well as a more obvious classical source.[26] It is followed by two studies for the vault of the Stanza d'Eliodoro, one in the Uffizi and the other in the Ashmolean.[27] As has been pointed out, not least by Paul Joannides and Sylvia Ferino, the way in which clouds and tongues of flame are rendered in these notably linear pen drawings is based upon the example of Dürer's *Apocalypse* woodcuts.[28] Two points need to be added: the first is that in almost every other instance I know of, Raphael borrows from Dürer's engravings, which are by definition less stylised in their visual language. The second point follows on: the reason for studying these very particular effects was that these drawings were preparatory studies for frescoes intended to counterfeit fictive tapestries. In consequence, the extraordinary naturalistic conviction of Raphael's vaporous atmospheric effects, evidenced above all perhaps in the *Sistine Madonna* but also elsewhere in the Stanze, was neither required nor desired. This decision, I feel sure, had nothing to do with the fact that the actual execution of the vault may well already have been intended to be delegated when these drawings were being made.

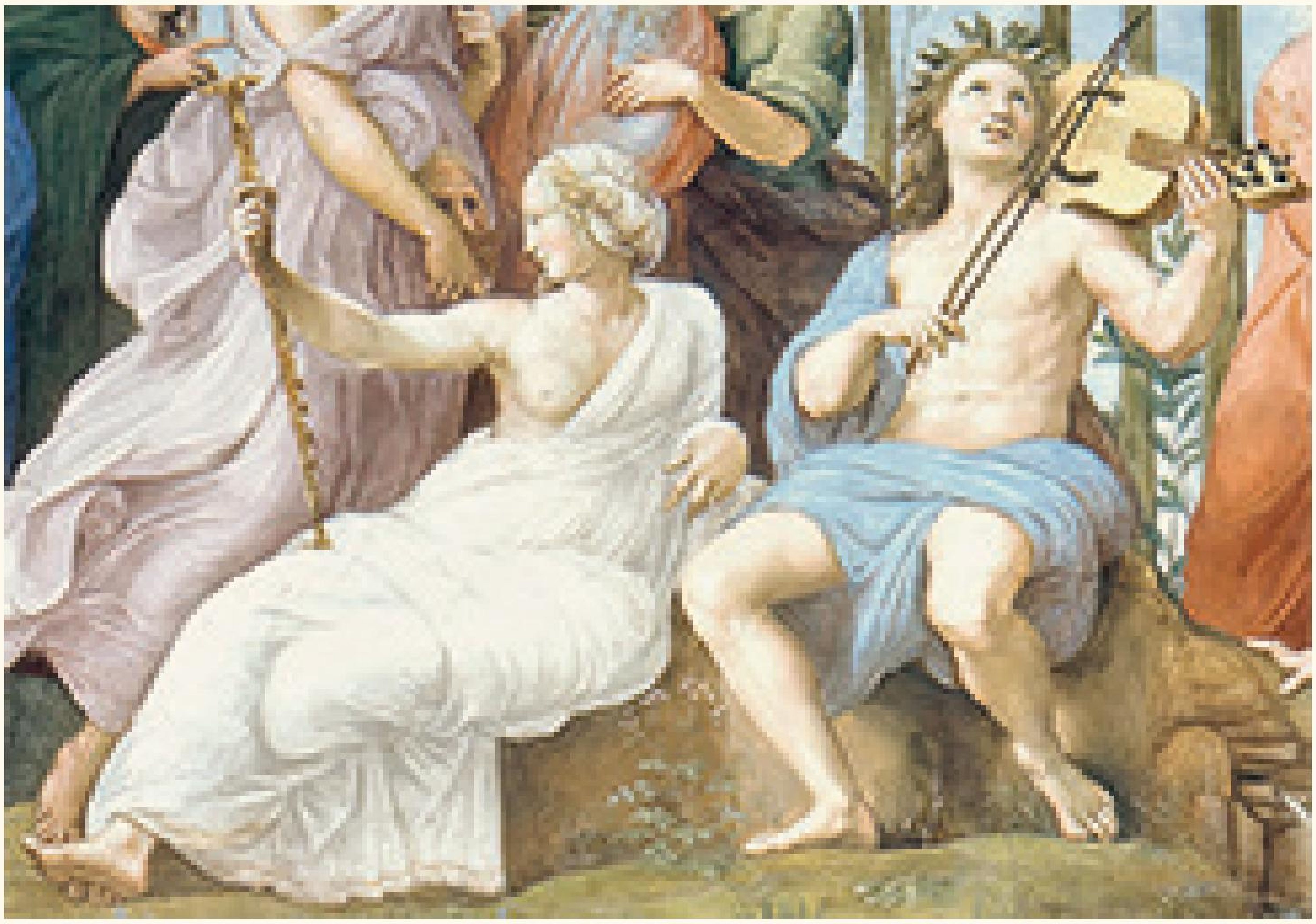


Fig.57
Raphael, detail of *The Parnassus*, 1509–11, fresco, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City.

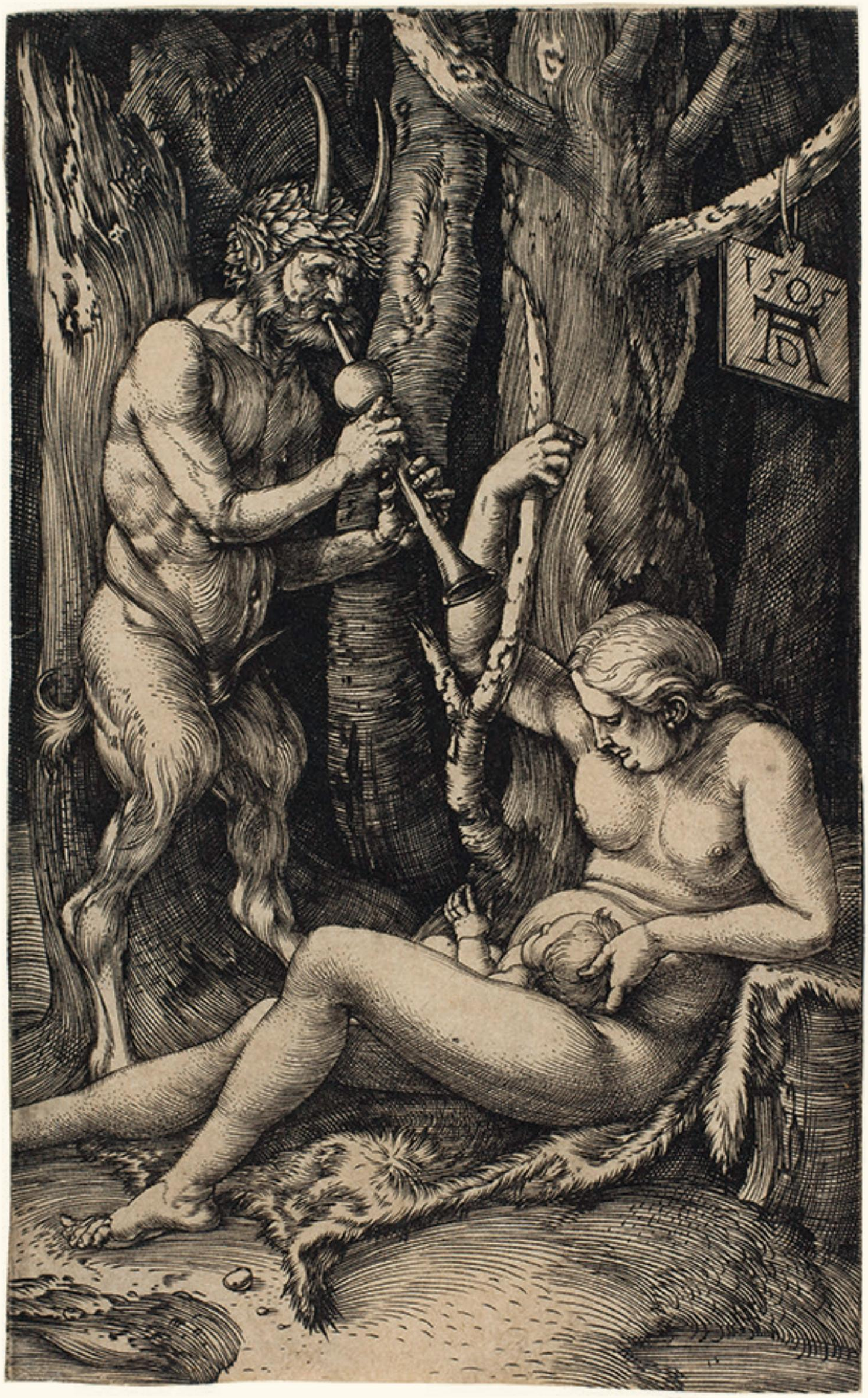
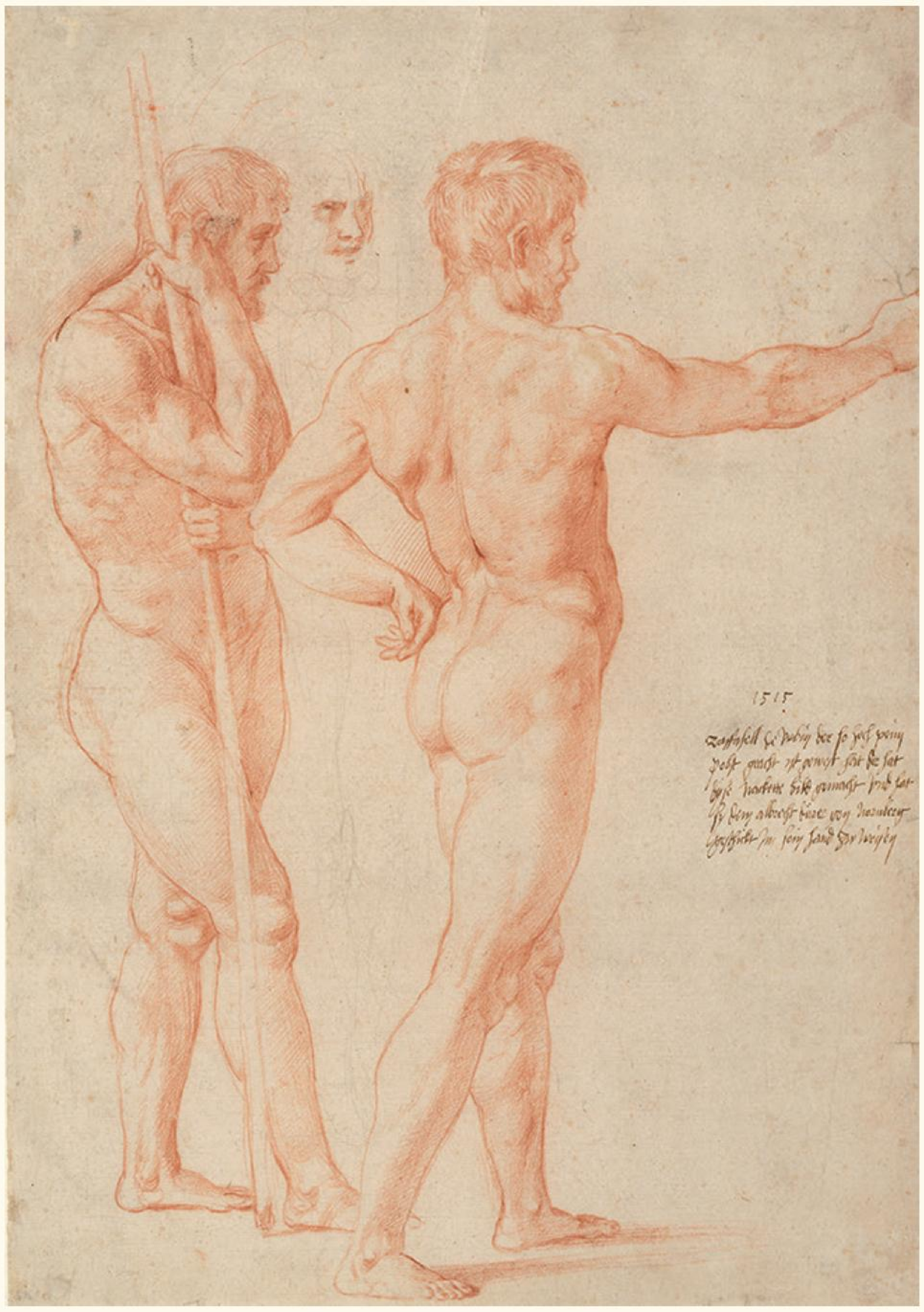


Fig.58
Albrecht Dürer, *Satyr family*, 1505, engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 19.73.77.



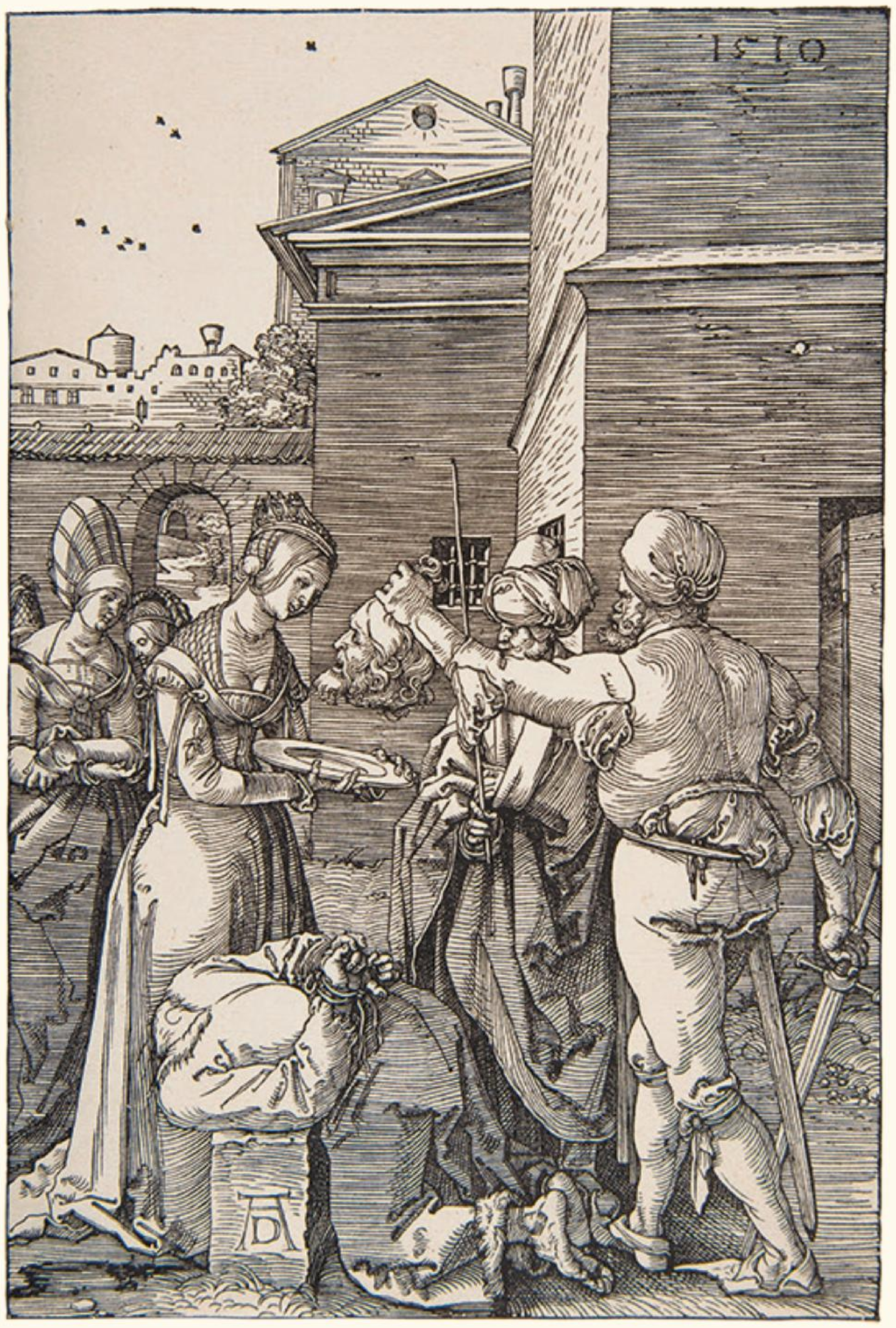


Fig.59
Raphael, *Study for the fresco of the Battle of Ostia, Stanza dell' Incendio*, 1515, red chalk and metal stylus, The Albertina Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 17575

Fig.60
Albrecht Dürer, *The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*, 1510, woodcut, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 31.57.4

A different kind of association is suggested by the much-discussed links between Raphael's *Spasimo di Sicilia* altarpiece and a variety of northern treatments of the theme of the Road to Calvary. Here the crucial detail is the iconographic one of showing Christ falling beneath the cross, which does indeed appear to be a northern invention. In the National Gallery predella panel discussed earlier, Christ is being relieved of his burden by Simon of Cyrene, but he remains upright, whereas in the work of Dürer – but also Schongauer and Lucas van Leyden – he is almost unfailingly represented buckling under the strain.[29] The reasons for this choice, like the significance of the stone or block upon which his hand rests to break his fall, cannot be explored here, but in the Italian context Raphael's choice gives every indication of having been a novel one. Conversely, if the *Spasimo* is compared in detail with any of Dürer's numerous versions of the subject, of which the one in the *Large Passion* seems to be the closest, the correspondences turn out to be distinctly generic. Provincial journeymen might plunder Dürer verbatim, as in the frescoed carbon copy dated 1509 of his *Meeting of Saint Anthony Abbot and Saint Paul the Hermit* of around 1502 in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Gravedona, attributed to an anonymous collaborator of the distinctly obscure Alvise De Donati, or even meet him half way, as in the *Circumcision of Saint John the Baptist* in the same church by Bernardino De Donati, probably with assistance, which is derived from the scene of his cousin getting the same treatment from the *Marienleben*, but such slavish dependence was not for Raphael.[30] It may equally have been the airborne aspect of Dürer's conception of the resurrected Christ as much as his pose that appealed to Raphael, for all that in this instance there are also perfectly good home-grown precedents. In this case, it is again not absolutely clear which print was the *point de départ* for a drawing in Bayonne for the never-to-be-executed altarpiece of the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace.[31] Michael Hirst cited the woodcut from the *Large Passion*, but he further noted that the treatment from the *Small Engraved Passion* is also remarkably close, and in either case Raphael has flipped his prototype.[32]

In none of the comparisons addressed so far can we be sure whether Raphael would have expected – or, for that matter, desired – his audience to understand what he was up to, for all that nothing can surely have been further from his mind than concealment or even dissimulation. In contrast, what is arguably the most compelling of all the connections between Raphael and Dürer is a true homage, and by the time of its journey north across the Alps it must have been intended to be recognised as a kind of 'miglior fabbro' gesture.[33] This was the red chalk study for the fresco of the *Battle of Ostia* in the Stanza dell'Incendio, now in the Albertina in Vienna (fig.59), which Dürer dated to the year 1515 and inscribed with the words: 'Raphael of Urbino who is so highly esteemed by the pope made this naked picture and sent it to Albrecht Dürer in Nuremberg to show him his hand.'[34] As Rolf Quednau was the first to recognise, the pose of the principal figure in Raphael's drawing was inspired – albeit in reverse – by the executioner in Dürer's *Martyrdom of Saint John the Baptist* woodcut (fig.60), perhaps not coincidentally one of the older artist's most admired creations.[35] This inscribed drawing is, of course, a remarkable survival, and coincidentally demonstrates the accuracy of Vasari's account of their exchange of works, which might otherwise have been dismissed as a tall tale. As it is, this is the one undoubted survivor of the 'molte carte disegnate di man sua' Raphael sent Dürer in return for the *Self-portrait* lovingly described by Vasari as 'un suo ritratto condotta da lui a guazzo su una tela di bisso (in the *Vita* of Giulio

Romano, the word 'rensa' is used)' – in other words, in distemper on a fine linen canvas – which Vasari reports was bequeathed to Giulio Romano, and which he saw in Mantua.[36] Vasari was particular dazzled by the painting of the hairs of the beard, and remarked that Dürer did not employ lead white, but instead reserved the white of the superfine canvas for his highlights. Alas, this Dürer *Self-portrait* has vanished without trace, but it must rank incredibly high in the list of lost but not definitely destroyed works of art we would love to see emerge from somebody's attic.

It is incontrovertible that Raphael was an admirer of Dürer's art, but it has tended to be supposed that – for all that Vasari alleges Dürer held Raphael's drawings very dear ('furono carissime ad Alberto') – nothing in his work betrays a reciprocal esteem.[37] Nevertheless, a number of his works do in fact appear to reflect knowledge of productions by Raphael, which – intriguingly – do not all date from his Roman years.

In the case of a Dürer drawing of the *Holy Kinship*, which is datable to around 1521 (fig.61), Friedrich Winkler noted a possible connection with Raphael's *Canigiani Holy Family* (fig.62), and although he could not decide if the resemblance was merely coincidental, it has recently been reaffirmed by Peter van den Brink.[38] However, even disregarding the known connections between the two artists, two additional factors speak in favour of the link. One is the extremely singular compositional arrangement of the *Holy*

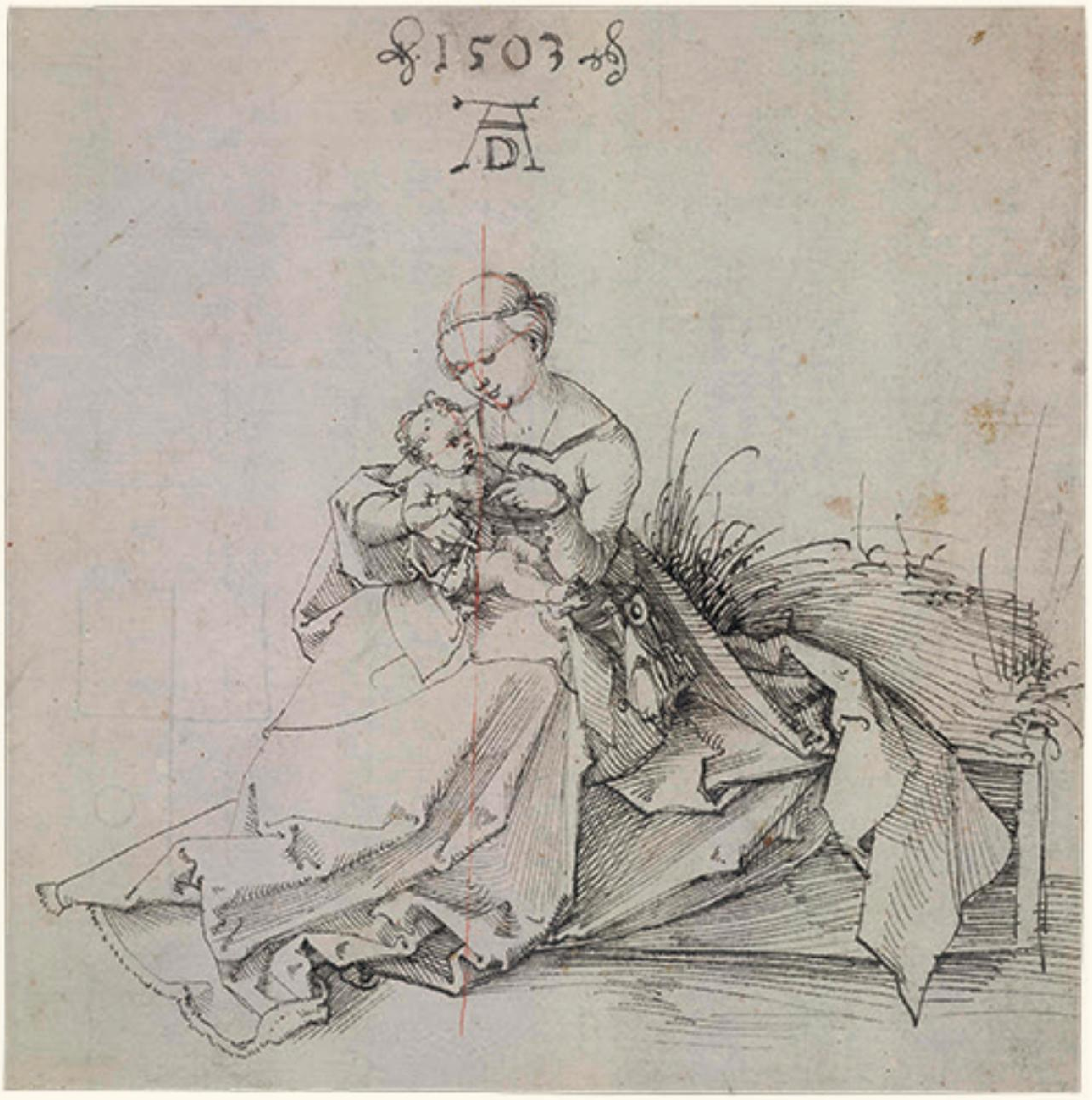


Fig.61
Albrecht Dürer, *Holy Kinship*, *c.*1521, pen and brown ink, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KDZ 4670

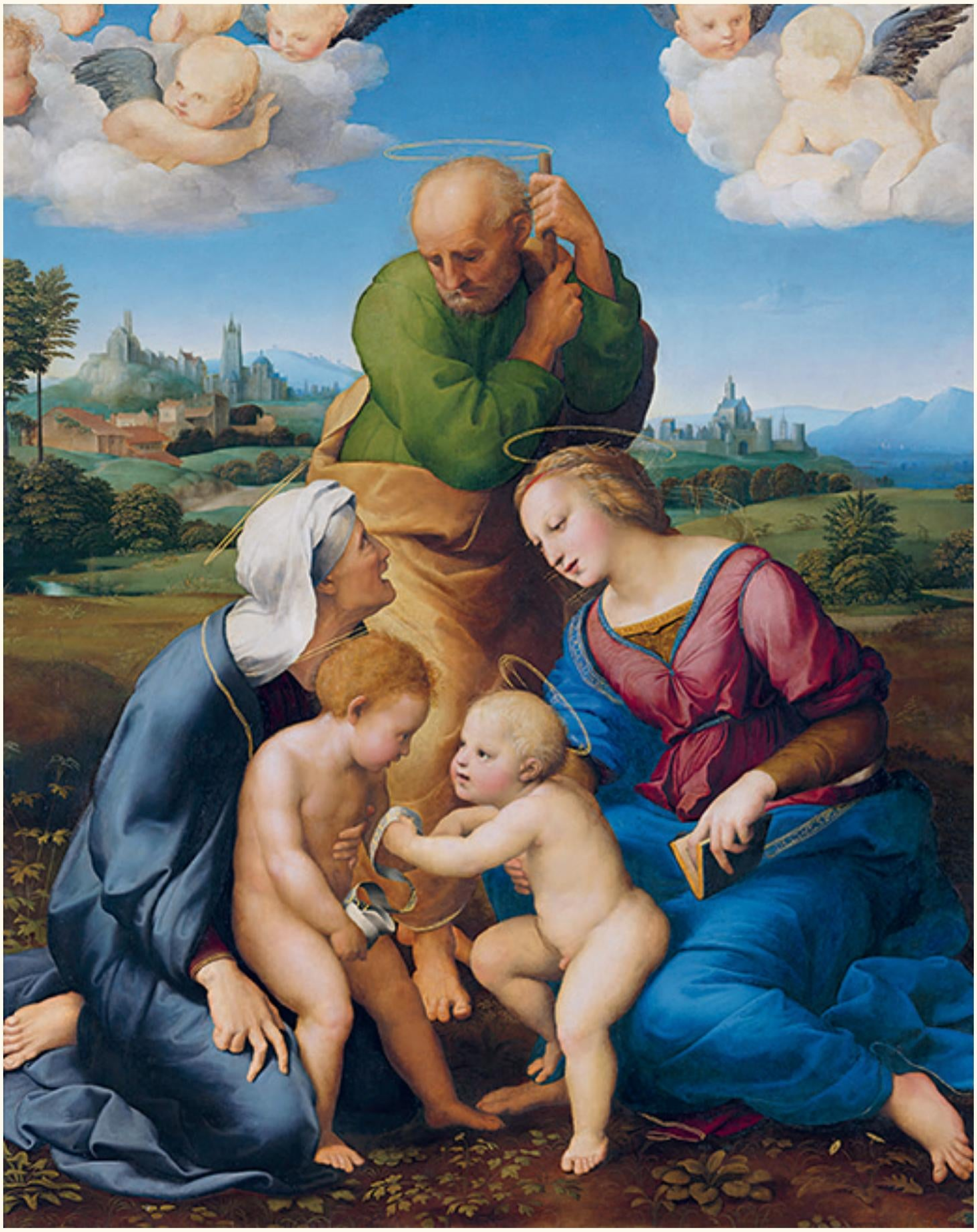
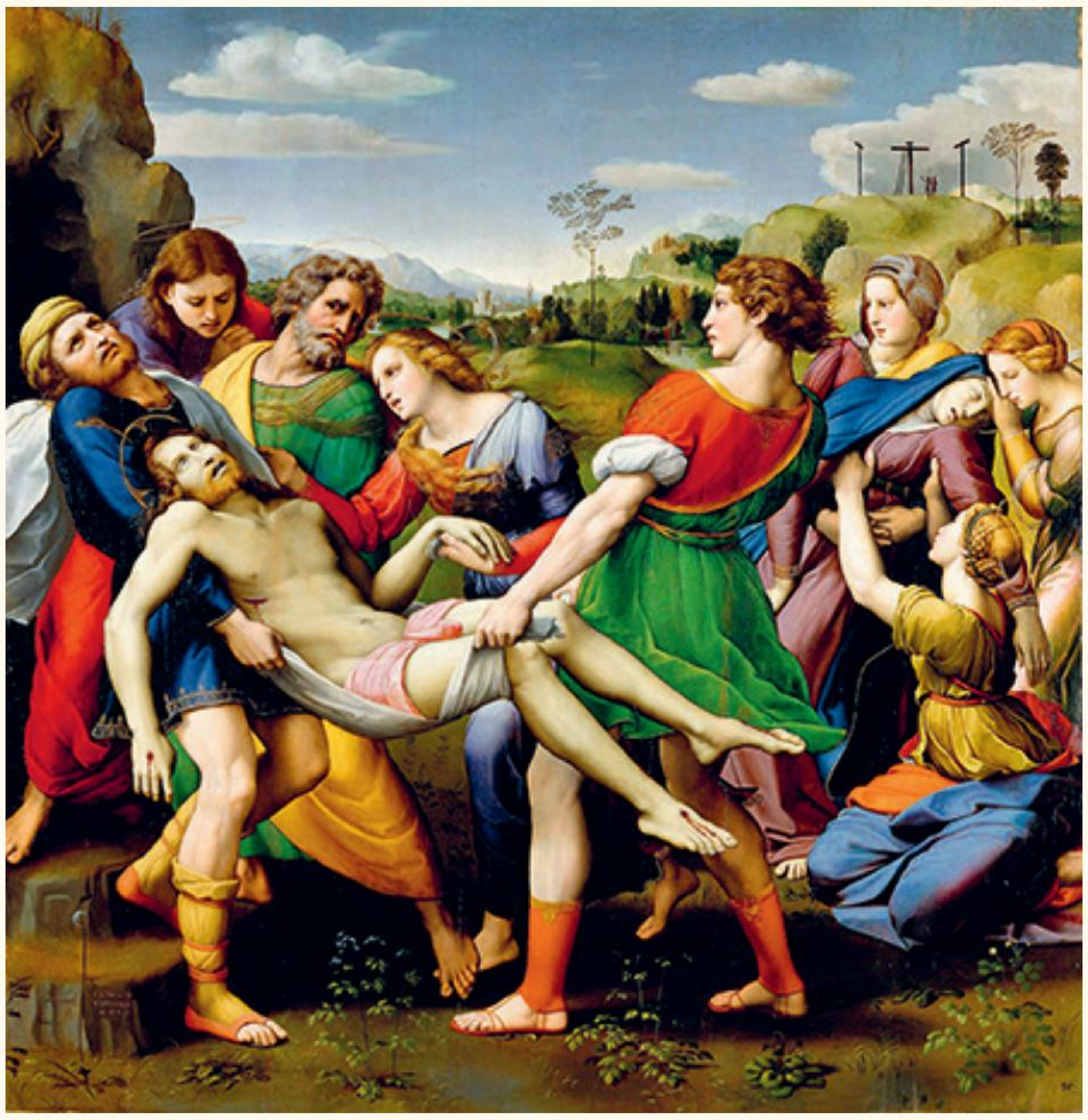


Fig.62
Raphael, *Canigiani Holy Family*, *c.*1505–7, oil on panel, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. 476



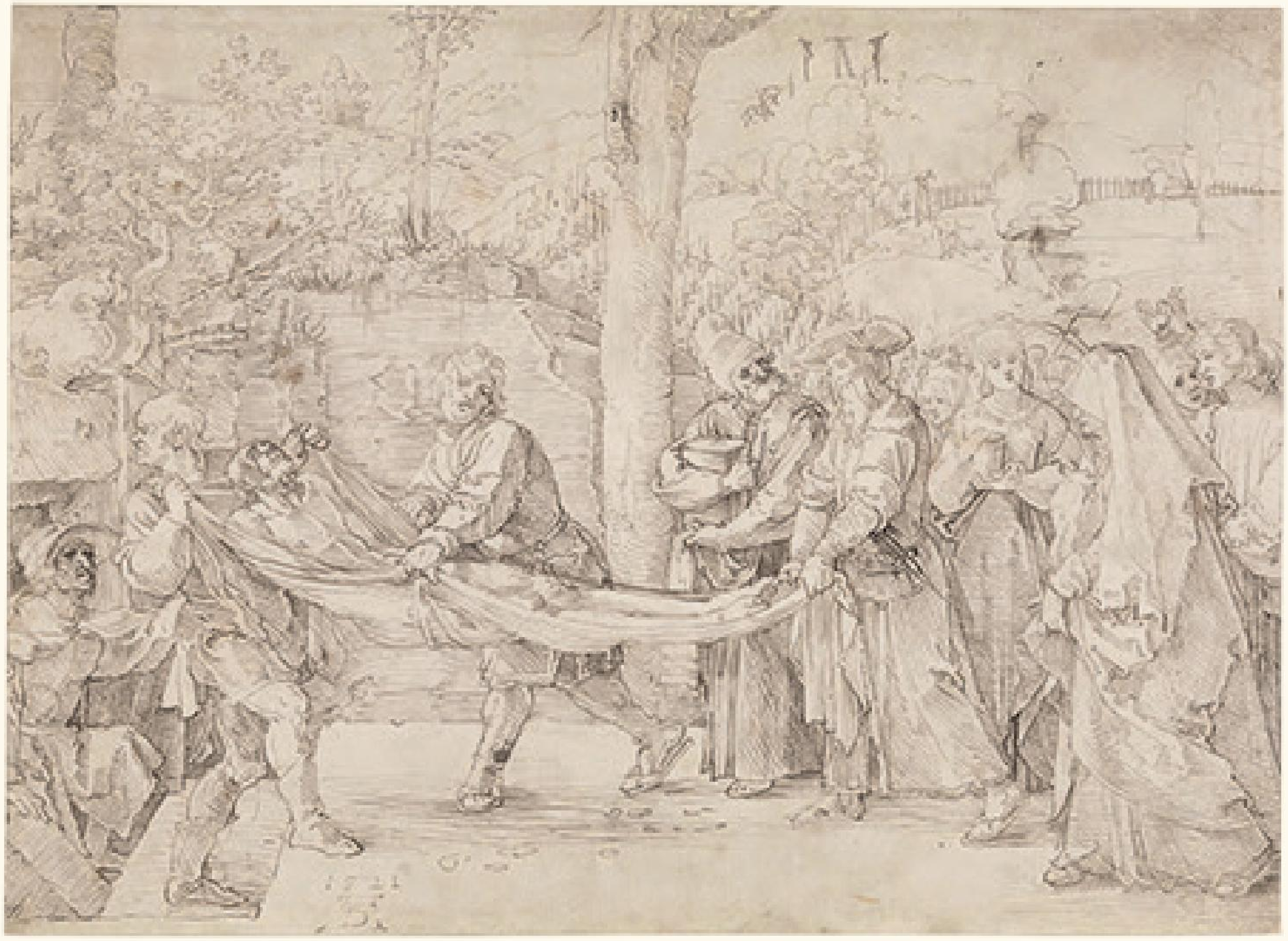


Fig.63
Raphael, *Baglione Entombment*, *c.*1507, oil on panel, Galleria Borghese, Rome, inv. no. 369

Fig.64
Albrecht Dürer, *Entombment*, *c.*1521, pen and brown ink, City of Nuremberg, on loan to Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. no. ST.N. 12589

Kinship, while the other is the fact that – as with the Raphael sheet inscribed by Dürer – the drawing that reached him need not have been identical to the final work.

It has recently been proposed by Christof Metzger that a Dürer study of a *Nude with Head Tilted Back* of 1515 was inspired by the pose of Christ in Raphael's *Baglione Entombment* of 1507 (fig.63), which he would have known via a drawing.[39] Once again, the attitude is suggestively close, although admittedly not identical, but the plausibility of the link is strengthened by the existence of a compositional drawing of the *Entombment* dated 1521 (fig.64). In at least three specific respects, it matches Raphael's ground-breaking response to the challenge of how to represent the subject: the action moves from right to left towards the mouth of a cave-tomb, the bearer at Christ's head walks gingerly backwards, and a single figure fills the gap between the two porters at either end of his body.[40]

A final Dürer borrowing appears to derive from a Marcantonio Raimondi engraving after Raphael or possibly a preliminary drawing for the print in question. For, as I have pointed out elsewhere, he must have been familiar with Marcantonio's *Dido* (fig.65), which was adapted and reversed for the woodcut designed by a member of his workshop of the *Coat-of-Arms of Christoph Scheurl* (fig.66), which is customarily dated to around 1512–14.[41] It is worth adding that the idiosyncratic diagonal division

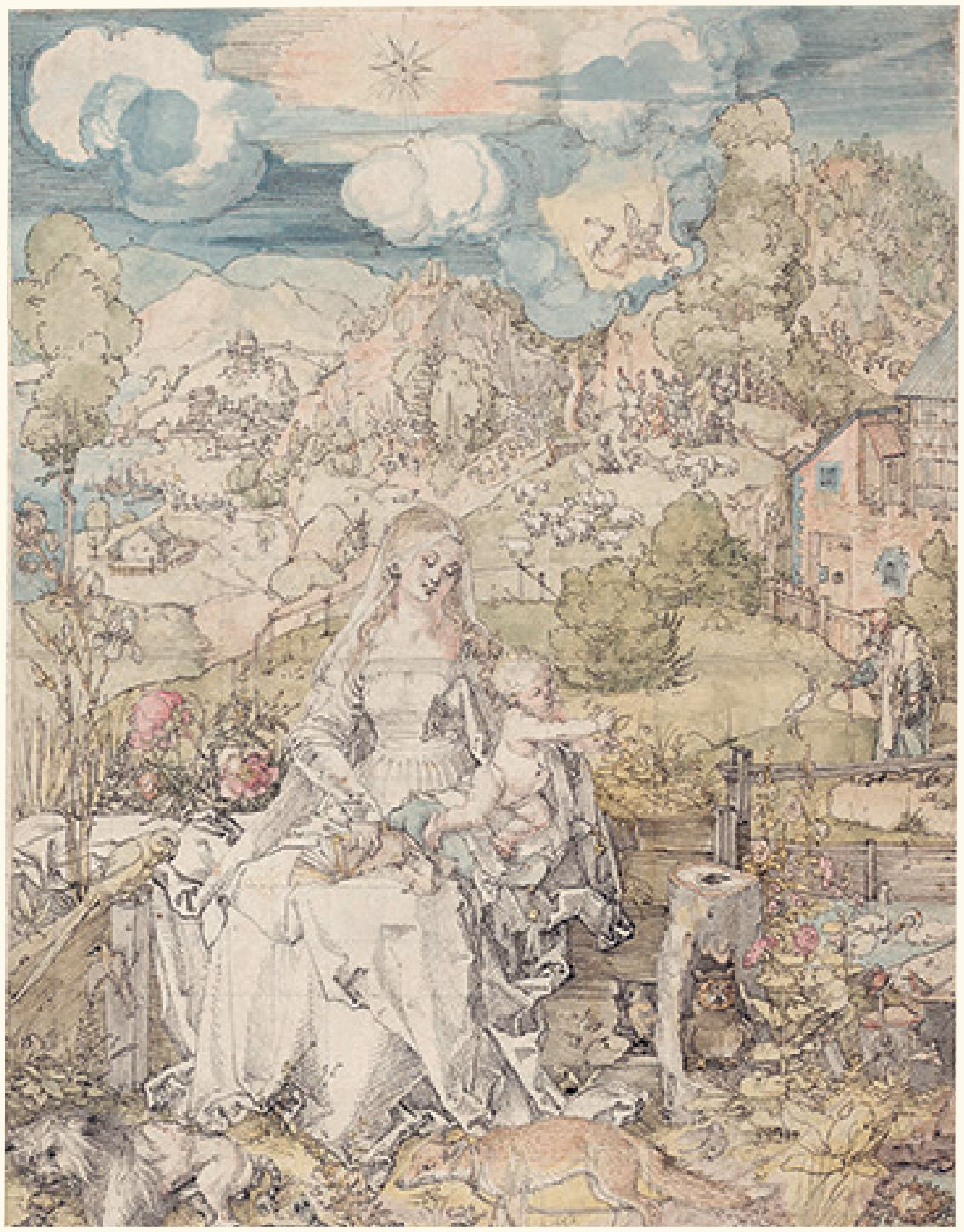


Fig.65
Marcantonio Raimondi, *Dido*, *c.*1510, engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 17.50.95

of the figure's torso exposing the left breast was derived by Raphael – who also used it in his *Lucretia*, likewise engraved by Marcantonio – from the standard classical mode of representing an *Amazon*, as in a characteristic example in Oxford (fig.67), and only serves to confirm that it was not Dürer's invention.[42] Intriguingly, it also appealed to Caravaggio, who borrowed it for his *David with the Head of Goliath* in the Borghese Gallery in Rome.[43] It seems that more works by Raphael must have come Dürer's way at a later date, because during his journey to the Netherlands he met Tommaso Vincidor, gave him six guilders' worth of his best prints, and was promised in exchange 'des Raphaels von Vrbin Ding' ('things by Raphael of Urbino'), who had died the year before.[44]

This essay has unashamedly confined itself to minutiae, but that does not mean that the larger question of Dürer the printmaker's exemplary role in Raphael's career in terms of his relations with Marcantonio Raimondi is not of immense interest. Plainly Raphael understood that Dürer's European reputation was founded upon his prints, and must in some measure have sought to emulate it through his collaborations with Marcantonio and others. I would dearly love to know whether he grasped that Dürer's prints were not cast-offs in the way so many of his were,[45] but in a sense it was Raphael who had the last laugh, in that even what he must have regarded as first ideas in need of improvement were to be revered both in his own time and down the centuries. But that – as they say – is another story.

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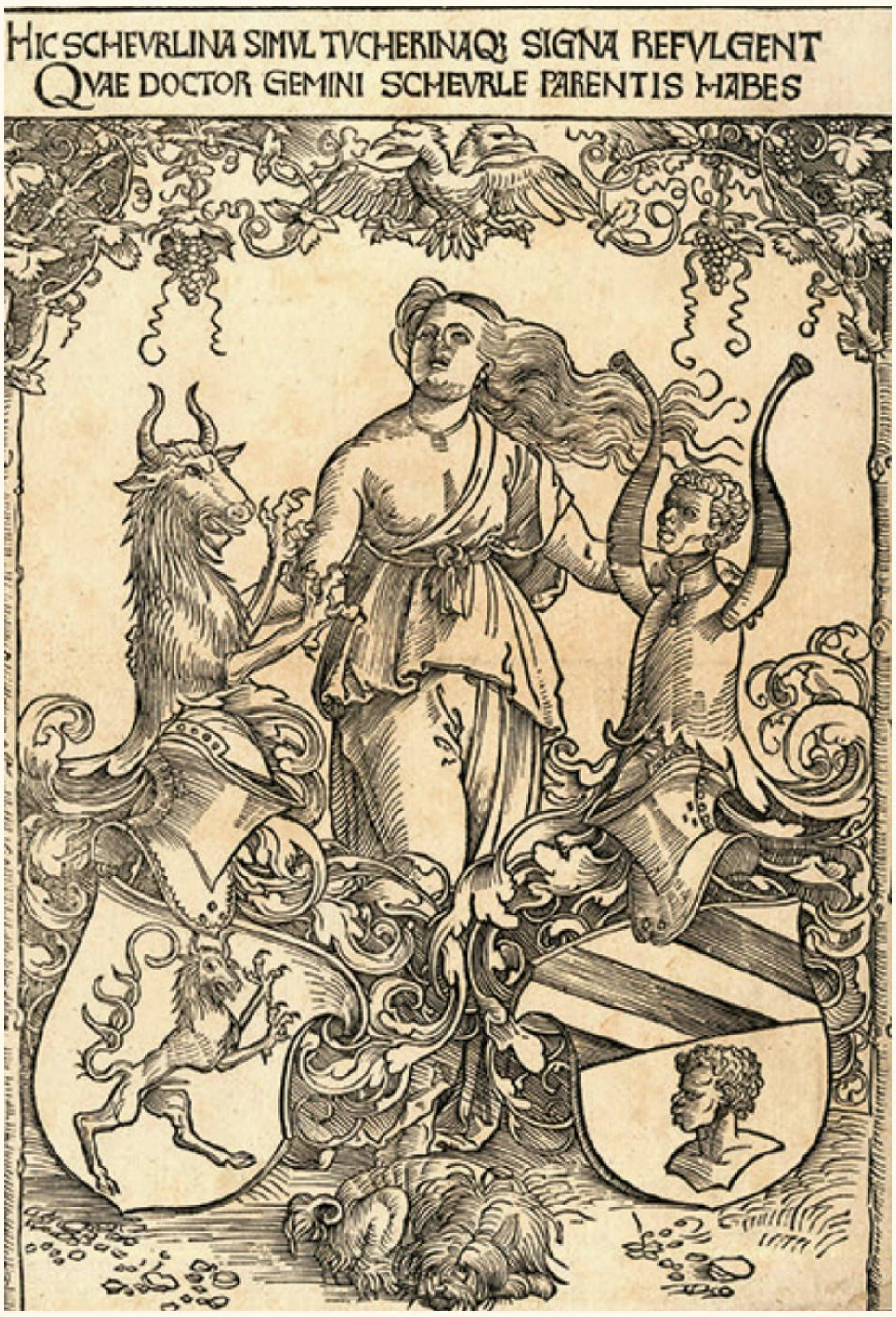
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Fig.66
Workshop of Albrecht Dürer, *Coat of arms of Christoph Scheurl (1457–1519) and Helena Tucher (1462–1516)*, woodcut, British Museum, London, inv. no. E,2.390

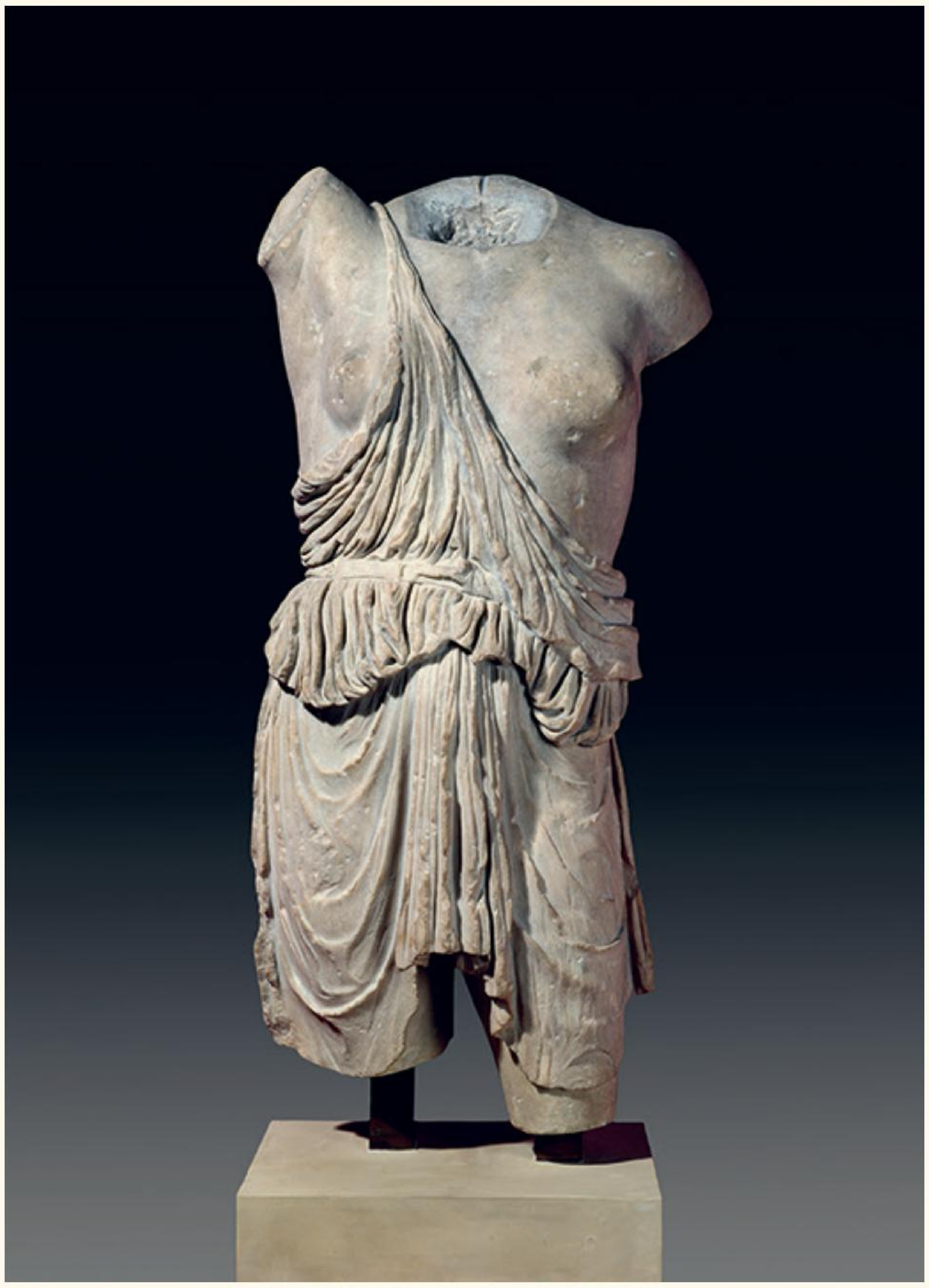

Fig.67
Italy, 2nd century AD, *Torso of an Amazon*, marble, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. no. ANMICHAELIS.24

1 J.P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, Leipzig 1836, 4 January 1827: 'Männer wie Raffael wachsen nicht aus dem Boden.'

2 M.W. Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian art theory of the Cinquecento*, New York 1968, pp.120–121: 'Raffaello non si recava a vergogna di tener le carte di Alberto attaccate nel suo studio, e le lodava grandemente.'

3 E. Simon, 'Dürer und Mantegna 1494', in *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1971–72, pp.21–44, and D. Ekserdjian, 'Mantegna's lost "Death of Orpheus"', in *Gedenkschrift für Richard Harprath*, edited by W. Liebenwein and A. Tempestini, Munich and Berlin 1998, pp.144–149.

4 C. Barbieri, *Le 'Magnificenze' di Agostino Chigi: Collezioni e Passioni Antiquarie nella Villa Farnesina*, Rome 2014: Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; C. La Malfa, *Raffaello: La scoperta dei Galati nella Stanza di Eliodoro*, Rome, 2019; C. La Malfa, *Raphael and the Antique*, London 2020; D. Ekserdjian, 'Raffaello e la scultura antica', in *Raffaello 1520–2020*, atti del convegno di Napoli e Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 1–3 luglio 2021, Rome.

5 D. Ekserdjian, 'Copying drawings in the Renaissance: animal studies, an altarpiece by Orazio Gentileschi and a drawing by Raphael', in *Colnaghi Studies* 9, 2021, pp.30-41, and D. Ekserdjian, 'Garofalo e le sue fonti', *MuseoinVita*, 2020, nos.9–10 (2019 volume), for the whole subject and some examples of such borrowings. The dog in Meder 196 seems to have been a particular favourite, who was pilfered by Girolamo da Santa Croce (A. Walther (ed.), 1982, *Gemäldegalerie Alter Meister Dresden: Katalog der ausgestellten Werke*, Dresden, 1982, p.295, no.56), Pellegrino da San Daniele (https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Pellegrino_da_S._Daniele_(1497-98),_Adorazione_dei_Magi_-_SantAntonio_-_San_Daniele.jpg), Perino del Vaga (E. Parma, *Perino del Vaga tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, exh. cat., Palazzo Te, Mantua 2001, pp.118–119, no.22), and an anonymous Veronese cassone painter (M. Vinco, *Cassoni: Pittura profana del Rinascimento a Verona*, Milan 2008, p.205, no.56). R. Quednau, 'Raphael und "alcune stampe di maniera tedesca"', in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46, 1983, pp.129–175.

6 Meder 60 for the print, A. Cecchi, *The Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral of Siena*, Florence 1982, p.26, plate 16, for the fresco, and E. Knab, E. Mitsch, K. Oberhuber, *Raffaello: I Disegni*, Florence 1983, p.584, no.29, for the drawing by Raphael.

7 Meder 28 for the print, and Knab, Mitsch, Oberhuber, 1983, p.589, no.82, for the drawings. In connection with the subject-matter, it is interesting to note Lorenzo Lotto's reference under 4 March 1541 in his *Libro di spese diverse* to 'un schizeto de un porcho morto da putini significato per la luxuria' (a sketch of a pig killed by little putti which signifies lust), for which, see L. Lotto, *Il "Libro di spese diverse" con aggiunta di lettere e d'altri documenti*, edited by P. Zampetti, Venice and Rome 1969, p.221. See also B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian Schools*, 3 vols., London 1968, vol. III, fig.1638, and H.E. Wethey, *Titian and his Drawings, With Reference to Giorgione and Some Close Contemporaries*, Princeton 1987, pp.162–163, no.47, plate 11, and fig.107, for further borrowings by Tommaso Aleni and Titian.

8 B. Peronnet, *Dessins italiens du musée Condé à Chantilly, II. Raphaël et son cercle*, exh. cat., Musée Condé, Chantilly 1997, pp.34–36, no.1.

9 Meder 67 for the print, and E. Parma, 2001, pp.148–149, no.46, for his drawn copy.

10 C. Bambach, *Michelangelo: Divine Draftsman and Designer*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2017-18, pp.32–35, nos.2–3, for the work in question.

11 Quednau, 1983, pp.130–135, figs.3–7.

12 J. Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2 vols., Oxford 1965, vol. I, pp.66–67 and 93–94, and vol. II, pp.300–304.

13 L. Pagnotta, *Bartolomeo Veneto: l'opera completa*, Florence 1997, p.134, plate XI, and pp.196–197, no.19, for Lucas van Leyden's *David and Abigail* in the background (New Hollstein D&F 24), combined with the protagonists of Dürer's 1513 engraving of the *Virgin and Child* (Meder 34) and p.137, plate XIV, and pp.210–212, no.26, for Dürer's *Knight and Landsknecht* in the background (Meder 265).

14 L. Arrigoni, E. Daffra, and P.C. Marani, The Brera Gallery: *The Official Guide*, Milan 1998, p.148, as 'Luini (attributed)', and Meder 126 and 127 for the prints.

15 Meder 81 and 84 for the Dürer prints.

16 Meyer zur Cappellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Paintings, vol. I, The Beginnings in Umbria and Florence c.1500–1508*, Landshut 2001, pp.134–137, no.8C, for the painting, and Quednau, 1983, pp.135–136, for the connection.

17 Knab, Mitsch, Oberhuber, 1983, p.588, no.62.

18 D. Ekserdjian and T. Henry, 2022, *Raphael*, exh. cat., National Gallery, London 2022, pp.126–127, no.8 (entry by D. Ekserdjian).

19 Meder 119 for a characteristic example in the woodcut of *Christ Carrying the Cross* from the *Large Passion*.

20 Meder 7 and J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, London 1972, colour plate I, and plates 39-40. M. Hirst, 'The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria della Pace', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1961, pp.161–185, especially p.173,

note 73, argues that there is a ‘reflection’ of Dürer’s *Healing of the Lame Man* from the *Small Engraved Passion* in Raphael’s treatment of the same subject, but I find this less convincing.

21 G. Mulazzani, ‘Raphael and Venice: Giovanni Bellini, Dürer, and Bosch’, in *Raphael Before Rome*, edited by J. Beck, *Studies in the History of Art* 17, 1986, pp.149–153, especially pp.150–151, figs.2–3, and D. Ekserdjian and T. Henry, 2022, pp.134–135, no. 12 (entry by D. Ekserdjian).

22 D. Ekserdjian and T. Henry, 2022, pp.128–129, no.8 (entry by D. Ekserdjian).

23 A. Butterfield, *Verrocchio, Sculptor and Painter of Renaissance Florence*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington 2019–20, pp.10–11, fig.8.

24 Meder 30.

25 Meyer zur Cappellen, 2001–2009, vol. I, pp.195–200, no.21, for the painting, and G. Mulazzani, 1986, pp.149–153, especially pp.151–152, figs.5–6, for the connection.

26 Meder 65 for the print, and K. Oberhuber, *Raphael: The Paintings*, Munich, London, New York 1999, p.104, fig.95, for the fresco. P.P. Bober and R.O. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, London 1986, pp.113–114, no.79, figs.79 and 79b, rightly link Raphael’s Calliope with the classical statue of *Ariadne Sleeping*, but the position of her right arm is derived from Dürer’s figure.

27 Knab, Mitsch, Oberhuber, 1983, pp.626–627, nos.483 and 485.

28 P. Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael with a Complete Catalogue*, Oxford 1983, pp.100–101, no.34, and p.219, nos.342–343, and C. Pirovano (ed.), *Raffaello a Firenze: Dipinti e disegni delle collezioni fiorentine*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti, Florence 1983, pp.317–319, no.20 (entry by S. Ferino Pagden).

29 Meyer zur Cappellen, 2001–2009, vol. II, pp.150–157, no.59, for the painting. For the prints, see Hollstein 9 for Schongauer, New Hollstein D&F 64 for Lucas van Leyden, and Meder 118 and 146 for Dürer.

30 Meder 198 for Dürer’s *Circumcision* and https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/opere-arte/schede/CO220-00576/ and https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/opere-arte/schede/CO170-00392/, for the paintings.

31 Knab, Mitsch, Oberhuber, 1983, pp.625–626, no.470.

32 M. Hirst, 1961, pp.161–185, especially p.173, and Meder 17 and 124 for the respective prints.

33 Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, Canto XXVI, line 117: ‘fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno’ (*he was a better craftsman of the mother tongue*).

34 Knab, Mitsch, Oberhuber, 1983, p.629, no.504: ‘Raffahell de Vrbin der so hoch peim/ popst geacht ist gewest hat/ der hat dyse nackette bild gemacht Und hat/ sy albrecht dürer gen nornberg/ geschickt Im sein hand zw weisen.’ see Ashcroft, I, p.422.

35 Quednau, 1983, pp.130–131, figs.1–2.

36 G. Vasari, *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, 8 vols and index, Florence 1878–85, vol. IV, pp.353–354, and vol. V, p.551.

37 Vasari,1878–85, vol. IV, p.354.

38 Meyer zur Capellen, 2001–2009, vol. II, pp.227-232, no.30, for the painting; Strauss 1521/67, and P. van den Brink, ‘A Tale of Two Drawings: Albrecht Dürer and Gossart’s Lost Middelburg Altarpiece’, in *Ingenium at Labor: Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Antoniemu Ziembie z okazji 60. Urodzin*, Warsaw 2020, pp.109–117, especially pp.112–113, figs.4–5, for the drawing and its association with Raphael.

39 Strauss 1515/78, for the drawing, and C. Metzger, *Albrecht Dürer*, exh. cat., The Albertina Museum, Vienna 2019–20, pp.240–247, for the whole argument, which includes a further – and in my opinion less convincing – association. See also Strauss 1509/3, for another formally related *Dead Christ*.

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41 I.H. Shoemaker and E. Broun, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, exh. cat., Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and Wellesley College Art Museum, Wellesley, Massachusetts, 1981–82, pp.88–89, no.18, and R. Schoch, M. Mende, and A. Scherbaum, *Albrecht Dürer: Das druckgraphische Werk*, 3 vols., Munich, London, New York 2001–4, vol. II, pp.512–4, no.A14 (Dürer workshop). See also D. Ekserdjian, ‘Establishing a Norm for the High Renaissance: Raphael and the Dissemination of a Style’, in H. Miesse and G. Valenti (eds.), *Modello, regola, ordine: Parcours normatifs dans l’Italie du Cinquecento*, Rennes 2018, pp.217–35, especially p.227, for the connection.

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43 C. Puglisi, *Caravaggio*, London 1998, p.361, plate 180.

44 Ashcroft, I, p.564. Ashcroft interprets *Ding* as engravings of Raphael's designs made by Raimondi.

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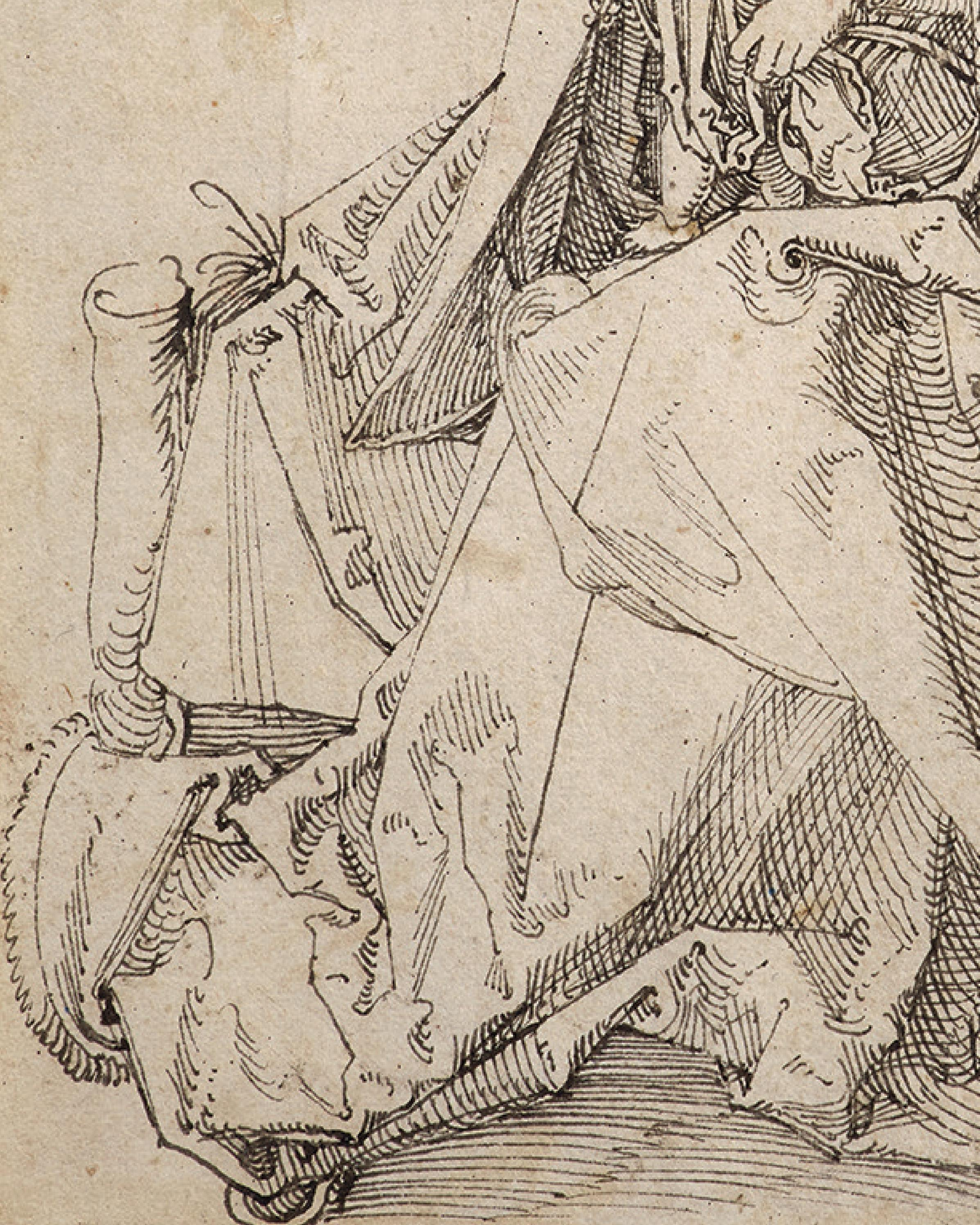

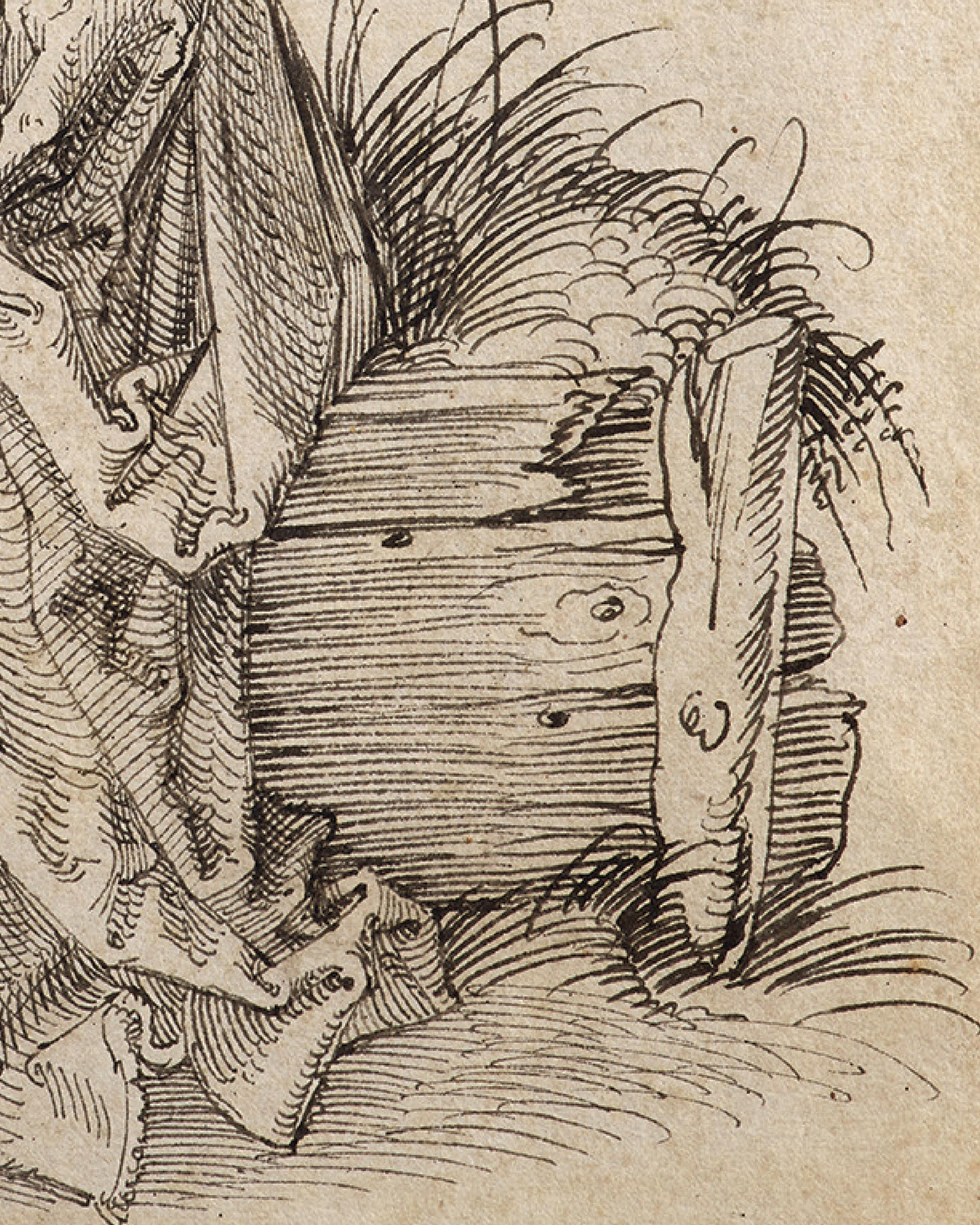

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Image details on p.2 & 112–113:
Fig.1, Albrecht Dürer, *The Virgin and Child with a flower on a grassy bench*, *c.*1503, pen and black ink, Agnews Gallery

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